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Eastern Europe

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LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA'S DEATH ANNOUNCED 21 JULY

AU210909 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Fatherland Front National Council with deep sorrow announce that after a short illness Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova, BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Committee on Culture, has died. The death of Comrade Zhivkova is a heavy and lamented loss for the party and people, and for Bulgarian culture.

ZHIVKOV GREETS PZPR'S KANIA ON REELECTION

AU201420 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, has sent the following message to Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary:

Esteemed Comrade Kania, please accept our greetings on your reelection as PZPR Central Committee first secretary. I take this opportunity to express my confidence that the friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic will further develop and strengthen in accordance with the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of world peace and socialism.

PRESS REPORTS ON POLISH CONGRESS, PARTY

19 Jul Session

AU191945 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 19 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)--The press gives detailed coverage of the work of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress. It is reported that a a closed-door sitting, by secret ballot, the congress delegates have elected Mr Stanislaw Kania as first secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party. The press carries dispatches on the work in the different problem groups. RABOTNICHESKO DELO reads that a number of delegates' statements at the congress and in the problem sections, viewed at the background of the great difficulties being experienced by Poland now, show common sense, they show that there are forces in the party which consider the vital problems of the Polish people realistically, with communist responsibility.

On its part NARODNA MLADEZH notes that it would be at least naive to think that all is clear in the party, that the way out of the crisis situation will be only straight and only smooth. The congress discussion, too, showed that on this way there are going to be many very hard sections. There will be complex organisational, ideological and socioeconomic problems to be solved. Something else becomes also clear--that not everyone in the Polish United Workers' Party is capable of making a true class and party, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the essence of the crisis and of the way out of it, the daily adds.

Party Work Summarized

AU200837 Sofia BTA in English 0815 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 20 Jul (BTA)--RABOTNICHESKO DELO, OTECHESTVEN FRONT and POGLED of today analyze the previous work of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Stress is laid in the dispatches by the special envoys on the fact that there is an open aspiration at hand to find a solution to the complex and contradictory processes in the economic, social and political spheres.

According to the POGLED weekly, in the multivocal chorus of the congress debates there stand out many statements with a clear, realistic look on the situation in Poland, with a sober analysis of events, with irreconcilability to the apathy and kindliness, with readiness for crucial action.

The dailies point out that the congress raised to the communists in Poland, to the socialist workers, questions which concern the destiny of every citizen and of the entire socialist society in Poland. All three newspapers are unanimous in assessing that now deeds are needed which can defend the socialist gains of Poland and her future.

Report on Debates, Speeches

AU202200 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 16 July on pages 1, 5 carries a 1,200-word dispatch from Warsaw on the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress by D. Shishmanov and V. Karaivanov, speical BTA correspondents, and K. Iliev, BTA correspondent, titled "Debates on the Report." The dispatch reports some of the statements made by the congress delegates on 15 July. According to the correspondents, Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the Bydgoszcz PZPR Committee, said that "the congress must determine a clear stand on the part of the PZPR vis a vis the actions of Solidarity, which undermine the principles of the socialist system and have nothing in common with the struggle for socialist renewal."

Gen Jozef Baryla, deputy minister of national defense and head of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, is quoted as saying: "It is necessary to conduct a decisive struggle against these who want to divert our country from the course that started in July 1944. Nobody who is instigating against our socialist system, our party and our allies, especially the USSR and the Polish-USSR combat friendship, can reply on our lenience."

Kazimierz Miniur, secretary of the PZPR Committee at the Lenin metallurgy plant, said, according to the report, that "the PZPR unity has been threatened by the Solidarity extremists, as well as by the extremists inside the party itself."

The correspondents report the procedure for electing the PZPR Central Committee and the PZPR Central Committee first secretary, noting the secrecy of the election. The greeting messages of the CPCZ and the SED Central Committees are also mentioned.

The same paper on page 5 carries a 1,100-word report by Kolyo Kolev and Angel Bonev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondents in Warsaw, on the congress entitled "The Formula of Power." The report describes the atmosphere surrounding the congress, as well as the debates that have followed the report of Stanislaw Kania. According to the correspondents "The delegates are still commenting on the CPSU Central Committee greetings message, which has stressed that 'The USSR does not leave its friends in trouble'." It is also stressed in the report that "the greeting messages of the fraternal parties and their statements on the situation in Poland have been permeated by a great love and respect for the Polish people." The report adds that "many of the delegates have explicitly stated that the internal problems can be solved only in fraternal unity with the socialist countries and with the active participation of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact."

The report scores the activity of Solidarity, stressing that "according to one of the delegates the Solidarity regional leaderships have started to remove the PZPR flags from public buildings." It concludes by stating that "fraternal unity is the only formula for the freedom, peaceful days and future of every socialist country."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 17 July on page 7 carries a 900-word report on the 16 July congress debates by the BTA correspondents D. Shishmanov, V. Karaivanov and K. Iliev, entitled "At the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress."

The report summarizes in two or three sentences the greetings messages of the Central Committees of Hungary, Vietnam, Mongolia, Cuba, Romania and the SFRY, after which the statements of several local delegates are reported. The statement of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers is given special attention. Rakowski is reported as attacking "'the conservative forces which are occupying important posts and opposing all changes' as well as 'the few' but very noisy forces which are opposing the party's Marxist-Leninist character and undermining its foundations." According to the correspondents "M. Rakowski has attempted to place in the category of the 'conservative forces' also firm adherents of the Marxist-Leninist principles, who are opposing the revisionist-reformist trend and the tendency to give the party a social-democratic character. He voiced the strange theses that the party 'must be opened to all political trends and orientations, based on socialism.'"

The same paper on page 7 carries a 900-word report on the debates on economic policy by its correspondents in Warsaw Kolyo Kolev and Angel Bonev, entitled "the difficult test of the party." While reporting some of the congress' general business, such as the ousting of Edward Gierek and other former officials from the party ranks and the procedures for electing the PZPR Central Committee, it concentrates on the congress debates related to the economic reforms, "which will lead Poland out of its economic crisis."

The correspondents stress that "there are different approaches to the economic reforms" and maintain that "the forces of the party and society must unite around a constructive program." Economic reforms which "oppose or contradict the principle of the party's democratic centralism and do not lead toward consolidating the party" are defined by the correspondents as "harmful."

Dwelling on Poland's economy, "which has reached a critical point," the RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondents describe the difficulties of providing the public with food and coal. They conclude their report by expressing confidence that "the Polish communists will determine clearly their collective positions in the documents which are to be adopted by the congress." They stress that all delegates with whom they have spoken have stressed that "the decisive battle will begin after the congress, when life will demand courage and deeds."

HAIG PRESS CONFERENCE IN OTTOWA REPORTED

AU171526 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig held a press conference last night in connection with the meeting of the leaders of the seven most industrially developed capitalist countries to take place in Ottawa 20 July. This press conference made it clear that Washington will again try to impose a limitation to its allies in their trade ties with the Soviet Union.

ISRAELI ACTION IN LEBANON 'CRIMINAL ACT'

AU201908 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 20 Jul (BTA)--The Bulgarian Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia has published a declaration on the latest Israeli adventure--the July 17 air raids over Beirut and other Lebanese cities.

This criminal act, reads the declaration in part, has again aroused the indignation and the wrath of the Bulgarian public. Together with the world's peace-loving forces Bulgaria strongly condemns the Israeli crimes and provocations and insists on their termination, expressing solidarity with the people of Lebanon and Palestine, with all the fighters against imperialism and Zionism.

GDR'S KRENZ MEETS WITH FILIPOV, SIGNS AGREEMENT

LD182006 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jul (ADN)--Relations between Bulgarian and GDR youth are developing dynamically. This view was expressed by Grisha Filipov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, and Egon Krenz, candidate member of the SED Politburo and first secretary of the FDJ Central Council. In Sofia on Saturday (18 July) Filipov received Egon Krenz, who is leading a delegation on a visit to Bulgaria. At their cordial meeting both men emphasized the importance of expanding cooperation for the steady consolidation of the fraternal alliance between the two countries. The FDJ and the Bulgarian Dimitrov Komsomol, they said, are thus making an important contribution to implementing the friendship treaty signed by Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov in 1977. Filipov and Krenz stressed that the Marxist-Leninist parties of Bulgaria and the GDR are continuing the traditional friendship between German and Bulgarian communists which has epitomized by the example of Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann.

On the same day Egon Krenz and Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, signed an agreement on cooperation between the two youth organizations for the period to 1985. In deepening their relations, both organizations will concentrate on ideological work, exchanges of experience in mastering economic questions, and strengthening the international democratic youth movement in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, detente and social progress. The two organizations will cooperate in popularizing major anniversaries and events. They will support the reciprocal dispatch of youth brigades and the intensification of relations on various levels.

JUSTICE MINISTER DASKALOVA VISITS AUSTRIA

AU171930 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Vienna, 17 Jul (BTA)--A delegation of the Bulgarian Ministry of Justice, led by Minister Mrs Svetla Daskalova, is on a visit here at the invitation of Dr Christian Broda, minister of justice of Australia. At today's two ministers' meeting views were exchanged on questions the two countries show interest in and the mutual cooperation between the two institutes.

Today Dr Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, federal president of Austria, received Minister Svetla Daskalova. At the talks which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, views were exchanged on questions concerning the two countries' cooperation and friendship.

Mrs Svetla Daskalova had also talks with Mr Bruno Kreisky, federal chancellor of Austria which concerned questions of the two countries' interests. At the meeting which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere it was stressed that the cooperation established between the two countries have broad prospects in future.

AKEL'S PAPAIOANNOU ARRIVES IN SOFIA ON VACATION

AU191940 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jul (BTA)--Mr Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary general of the Progressive Party of Cyprus' Working People (AKEL) arrived here on holiday today at the invitation of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP.

OFFICIAL ORGANS ENDORSE CEMA SESSION DECISIONS

AU202113 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers have discussed the report of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the results of the work of the 35th CEMA session which took place from 2 to 4 July in Sofia.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers fully share the positive evaluation of the implementation of the comprehensive program on economic integration during the past decade, of its great role in successfully solving the problems of the CEMA member-countries' socioeconomic development in the conditions of the complicated international economic and political situation, of the increase of their economic and scientific-technical potential, and of the strengthening of the unity and power of the socialist community and its influence throughout the world, expressed during the session. The results of the comprehensive program's implementation confirmed the correctness of the course of strengthening and perfecting the mutual cooperation and developing the economic integration which has been worked out by our communist and workers' parties. The results also demonstrated the vital power of the CEMA basic principles and goals.

The session approved the results of coordinating the national economic plans of the CEMA member-countries for the 1981-85 period, something which created the basic preconditions for providing the fraternal countries' national economies with raw materials, energy resources, machines, equipment and other goods needed for their stable development.

The session stressed the decisive role of the Soviet Union for developing the cooperation and the importance of its consistent internationalism for solving the cardinal problems of socialist economic integration.

The Politburo and the Council of Ministers, highly evaluate the session's contribution to determining the basic trends and tasks of the cooperation and integration during the 80's in accordance with the decisions of the fraternal parties' congresses, as well as its contribution to determining the approach for their implementation. The session outlined a course on decisively increasing the effectiveness of cooperation and its influence on the intensification of the economy along the road of strengthening specialization and production-sharing in the areas of production, science and technology, increasing the concentration of production on an international scale and implementing a comprehensive approach to the "science--production--implementation" cycle by further prefecting and mutually adapting the CEMA member-countries' branch structures.

The session properly devoted much time to questions related to prefecting the mechanism of cooperation, determined by the needs of developing real socialism, the dynamics of scientific-technical progress and the changes in the world political and economic situation. Fundamental importance was attributed to supplementing the coordination of the national plans with the coordination of economic policy as a whole, the activation of the direct connections between the economic, scientific, construction and other organizations of the fraternal countries, and synchronizing the structures of the national economic mechanisms for guiding the national economy.

The session again confirmed the readiness of the CEMA member-countries for continuing the equal and mutually beneficial economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the developing and developed capitalist countries. The session voiced decisive support for strengthening the peaceful cooperation among the countries throughout the world against the imperialist policy of strengthening the arms race and increasing political tension.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers approved the activity of the Bulgarian delegation to the 35th CEMA session and noted that the session's decisions are a new and major step toward developing cooperation and socialist economic integration. Its decisions will facilitate the further implementation of the socioeconomic tasks set by the fraternal communist and workers parties' congresses and related to achieving a constant increase of our peoples' standard of living--socialism's main goal.

The competent state and economic organs have been instructed to take the necessary measures for quickly and efficiently implementing the obligations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, arising from the decisions and recommendations of the 35th CEMA session.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES KANIA ON PZPR REELECTION

LD201502 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has congratulated Stanislaw Kania on his reelection to the post of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

CPCZ DELEGATION RETURNS FROM PZPR PROCEEDINGS

LD202336 Prague CTK in English 1825 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 20 July (CETEKA)--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by Antonin Kapek, Presidium member of the party Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague city party committee, returned here Monday from Warsaw where it participated in the discussions of the 9th extraordinary congress of the Polish United Workers Party.

DAILY, RADIO ON PZPR CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

RUDE PRAVO Report 17 July

AU201525 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 July 1981 on page 7 carries a 1,800-word "JL, KM, PM, VT"-signed Warsaw dispatch on the continuation of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, entitled "Discussion on Burning Problems." The dispatch first mentions the congress delegates' decision, adopted at the 15 July evening session, to expel six members of the former party leadership, including former First Secretary Gierek and former Premier Babiuch, from the party. It goes on to report on the proceedings of the 16 July morning session, noting that the session was devoted to the "selection of candidates for the top party bodies," and briefly sketches the topics that were discussed by the 16 congress commissions during the afternoon session.

The dispatch then notes an "increased activity" in Polish society during the congress days and refers in that context to the "forums of communists" that have been set up recently in various parts of Poland. Speaking about the Gorzow forum, the dispatch notes that it adopted "spreading the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism" as its main task. It also quotes the Zielona Gora forum's letter to the PZPR congress, which reportedly expresses the conviction that "the congress will live up to the expectations and hopes and will contribute to overcoming the crisis and to restoring Leninist norms in our party."

Next, the dispatch reports extensively on the Grabski commission report analyzing the nature and the causes of the former party and government leaders' "errors" and reviews the speech by Viktor Grishin, head of the CPSU delegation at the Polish party congress, to workers of the Radwar enterprise in Warsaw. In its concluding part, the dispatch summarizes the speeches by the heads of the Romanian, Mongolian and Yugoslav delegations at the 15 July session of the PZPR Congress.

RUDE PRAVO Report 18 July

AU201935 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 July carries on page 7 a 1,900-word Warsaw dispatch by Jan Lipavsky, Karol Mikulka, Pavol Minarik and Miloslav Vitek, entitled "Searching for Ways out of the Crisis; Fourth Day of the PZPR's Extraordinary Congress." The dispatch reports on the election of 200 Central Committee members and 70 candidate members and of members of the PZPR's Central Auditing Commission and the Central Party Control Commission, giving the names of reelected Central Committee members and adding: "However, for instance H. Jablonski, M. Jagielski, M. Moczar, A. Zabinski and T. Grabski did not receive the necessary majority of more than 50 percent of the votes for election to the new PZPR Central Committee."

After mentioning that the newly elected Central Committee would meet on Saturday to elect "members of the narrow leadership," the dispatch cites the agenda of the problem teams: The team dealing with the "PZPR's ideological and organizational unity" is said to have "stressed that a well organized political education would contribute toward correctly appraising the realities of everyday life" and would note "shortcomings in the party's ideological work." The team dealing with the "role of statutes in the party's activities" is said to have discussed "how to enhance the activity of party ranks and prevent deformations in intraparty life, as well as in implementing the party's leading role." The team dealing with "socialist democracy" is said to have noted the "many concepts of its development" and the fact that "the party can support and develop only those which support the socialist social system," stressing the need for a strong socialist state and party and public control of the activities of the state apparatus. The team dealing with economic policy is said to have stressed that the "party must on no account give up its influence on the solution of economic problems, as certain forces in Poland are striving to achieve. However, it must adjust the style of its work to the new conditions." The team dealing with supply problems is said to have stressed that nobody can expect the economic situation to improve immediately after the congress. The work of the team dealing with agricultural problems is said to have shown that "attention would be focused on greater assistance to individual farmers." The team dealing with relations between the party and the trade unions reportedly urged the "party to support the entire trade union movement and cooperate with it. However, this cooperation must cease whenever, as in the case of 'Solidarity,' reactionary groups gradually begin to have a say, endeavoring to turn the trade union movement into a political party standing in opposition to the socialist state."

In reporting on the discussion on 17 July, the dispatch says that "a number of delegates concentrated mainly on the interests and needs of their regions. This was received with displeasure by the congress hall. On the whole it can nevertheless be said that the discussion showed great concern for renewing production in its entirety, in all national economy branches," the dispatch adds.

Delegate T. Kurdzielowicz from Novy Sacz reportedly stressed the need to hold the entire congress in a Marxist-Leninist spirit and that, "although the party needs great activity, it should always stay within the framework of PZPR statutes," adding that "all attempts made to date toward disintegrating the party are a great, unforgivable sin."
J. Zawodzinski from Bialystok reportedly spoke "of attempts to limit party activity merely to ideological matters and to exclude its influence from the economic sphere."
A delegate from Lodz is said to have demanded that "the congress Secretariat adopt a communique expressing dissatisfaction with the way Polish television is reporting the course of the congress." He reportedly asked for transmissions of television blocks from the congress sessions.

The dispatch continues by reporting on the article published by TRYBUNA LUDU and entitled "Why?" This article reportedly deals with the conflict around the appointment of the new LOT director and appeals for a "resolute rejection" of "Solidarity's" dangerous aggravation of this conflict. The dispatch then cites other Polish press on "Solidarity's" "dangerous" demand for higher dockers' wages.

The dispatch concludes by stating that "the Friday congress events have not provided an answer to the question of when the congress negotiations will end. It was originally assumed that the extraordinary congress was to end on Saturday."

Radio Reports Close

LD201914 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Correspondents Frantisek Sojka and Stefan Simak dispatch]

[Text] On the last day of the congress deliberations, the delegates adopted today--after a discussion lasting several hours last night and this morning--a draft of the new statutes.

It was also decided that the final text of the new statutes should be presented--after a discussion in the Central Committee--to the national conference of delegates. The congress also entrusted the party Central Committee with editing the final version of the statutes. In the afternoon a decision on the conclusion of the plenary discussion was adopted--and those wishing to speak in the discussion handed their speeches over for inclusion in the final protocol. After that, Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, delivered the draft final documents on behalf of the commission which had prepared the congress resolutions.

The first document was a resolution concerning the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement and also a resolution on setting up a commission to prepare a long-term program of party activity. This was followed by an extensive discussion concerning the most voluminous document of the congress: the resolution on the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the leading role of the party in the socialist construction and the social and economic stabilization of the country. Adopted last was an appeal by the extraordinary ninth congress to the Polish nation. Hieronim Kubiak, who presented the draft documents, also stressed that they had been prepared in the individual commissions and he appealed to the entire party to implement them since, as he said, these documents amounted to an appeal for party unity. He also declared the activity of various [word indistinct] completed.

In his closing speech, Stanislaw Kania expressed the conviction that the extraordinary congress had fulfilled its role, and that its deliberations had been characterized by a responsibility for socialist Poland, and he appealed to all communists and other citizens to carry out positive work for the fulfillment of the congress resolutions. We applied strict criteria in assessing the past and sought to remedy the causes of the crisis, he said, adding that at the same time the congress provided guarantees that the independence of socialism in Poland would be preserved. Kania stressed that stability in Europe was connected with stability in Poland; Poland wanted to contribute to the preservation of this stability and actively participate in the development of the process of international detente.

The first secretary said that the congress had confirmed a return to Leninist principles in the work of the party and to the principles of democratic centralism. In connection with the activity of hostile forces, he stressed that the congress had provided a clear answer to all those who were attempting to disintegrate the socialist system. It was necessary to completely stop any activity exposing the state, party and state bodies to a test of strength aimed at a dangerous confrontation, he said. Let no one dare to cherish such hopes, Kania went on, adding that the state will solve social and wage problems, after an agreement with the trade unions, only if prerequisites for it have been created by the state of the economy. He described as an important task the strengthening of legality and the fight against alien forces spreading tension, demagogy and disinformation--a fight with forces attempting to create dual power and act against the state bodies. The present situation, Stanislaw Kania said, cannot continue without threatening socialist Poland. The time has come for us to return to a normal life--and the congress has again confirmed this aim, he said. It has also confirmed this by the congress document adopted, Stanislaw Kania said in conclusion.

COMMENTATORS ANALYZE POLISH ECONOMIC SITUATION

Solidarity: 'Economic Terror'

LD211006 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 21 Jul 81

[From the "Minutes From Abroad" program; Frantisek Sojka report from Warsaw on Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--recorded]

[Text] The attention both of the media and the public is now concentrated on the results of the congress and on the conclusions reached at it.

One can claim with certainty that they will also be the subject of discussions among Poles not only now but also for a number of days ahead, especially because a strike of dockers, members of the Solidarity trade union organization, is scheduled to start day after tomorrow. Another strike, also organized by the Solidarity trade union organization, is to take place in the Polish airlines on Friday.

In less than 3 hours, at 1000, further talks are scheduled to take place between representatives in Szczecin. One cannot predict the outcome. At the same time, one cannot have any doubts that the strikes, should they take place, will have not only serious economic but also social and political consequences.

Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski was among those who spoke at the ninth extraordinary party congress about the attempts to put pressure on the government and about incitements to strikes that are weakening the social structure and damaging the economy. He stressed in this connection, among other things, that there are limits that cannot be overstepped. Otherwise it would prove disastrous both for the nation and the state.

It would, however, appear that this does not bother the leadership of the Solidarity trade union organization. On the contrary, they intend to continue to use economic terror against the government as the most effective weapon to attain their political objectives.

Work Yields Prosperity

LD201308 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Warsaw dispatch by special correspondent Stefan Simak]

[Text] The latest statistical data on the results of the Polish national economy for the past 6 months have confirmed a decline in industrial output which is twice as big as the decline during the same period of last year. The output of coal, needed for export, as well as for Poland's own industry, has declined by 22 percent. The coal shortage has reduced the output of coke; the shortage of coke is hampering work in the metallurgical industry; and this chain reaction is spreading like spilled drops of mercury into all branches of the national economy. The chances of obtaining an apartment have decreased by one third, while car production has declined by one fourth.

The shortage of foodstuff is much more burdensome. The statistics note dryly the decline in the procurement of meat by one fifth. In practice, however, this represents a daily [words indistinct] because in several voivodships the existing goods can supply only one third of the ration cards. At the same time, the average wage has reached almost Z7,000. This means a skilled worker in certain branches has a monthly income of Z10,000-15,000.

Thus, increased earnings that have been enforced have not brought the expected rise in living standards. On the contrary, they have brought about more and more human worries, and the spring of social tension has been extended to the maximum possible limit. Many delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress have stressed during the debates that Poland needs to be rapidly united in work, which is the only reliable source of social prosperity.

Developments in Poland confirm at the same time that a group egotism has been emerging to an unprecedented degree in the country. The exponents of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and others like them continue to see an opportunity to liquidate the socialist system in Poland. Despite all the facts testifying to the reality of the situation, they are preparing a new wave of provocative actions aimed at the further moral and economic disintegration of Polish society. In Lodz and other towns, Solidarity is organizing hunger marches and demonstrations. It is distributing leaflets saying the government is concealing meats and foodstuffs, because it has decided to carry out a biological liquidation [as heard] of the nation.

Dockers have announced a strike to begin on 23 July. Among their main demands are extra holidays, extra bonuses, 13 or even 14 months' salaries, free (?travel) to holiday destinations, and other privileges to be paid for by other citizens.

The government has declared it does not possess the material means to meet further demands, and is allegedly resolved not to yield. The coming days will show the steadfastness of this resolve, for the hostile forces--as is being shown--are again preparing difficult days for Poland.

PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR TRADE UNION DELEGATES

AU202031 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jul 81 p 2

[CTK report: "Trade Union Talks"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--Yesterday in Prague, K. Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CTUC] met the delegation of the Soviet AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] led by its secretary K. Matskyavichyus. V. Bezel, CTUC deputy chairman, and CTUC Secretaries V. Kozik and V. Marik were also present. The reception was also attended by A. Botvin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR. In a comradely talk they discussed matters pertaining to the further development and increase of effectiveness of the Czechoslovak and Soviet trade unions' cooperation in the economic sphere. The Soviet trade union delegation, which has stayed in the CSSR since 13 July at the CTUC's invitation, concluded its visit yesterday. In conclusion of the visit V. Marik and K. Matskyavichyus signed a working protocol, in the interests of perfecting the forms and methods of the CSSR's and USSR's working collectives' participation in international socialist competition.

BILAK HOLDS PARTY TALKS WITH SRV VICE PREMIER

LD171704 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 17 Jul (CTK)--Vasil Bilak, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, received here Friday To Huu, Vietnamese Communist Party Politburo member and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In their talks, they informed each other about the fulfilment of the conclusions of the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress and the 6th Vietnamese Communist Party Congress, and appreciated the successfully developing relations of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal parties and countries.

NGUYEN CO THACH DEPARTS; COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

Chnoupek at Farewell

LD171650 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 17 Jul (CTK)--Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach ended a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia Friday and left Prague. He was seen off by his colleague and host Bohuslav Chnoupek.

Joint Communique Issued

AU201128 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jul 81 p 1, 2

[Communique on Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's visit to Czechoslovakia]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister for foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Co Thach paid an official friendship visit to the CSSR July 15-17, 1981.

Nguyen Co Thach, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic in Vietnam, was received by and had cordial talks with Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, and CSSR Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle. He laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior on Zizkov Hill and paid tribute to the memory of Comrade Klement Gottwald. On 16 July 1981 he held a press conference, which was attended by Czechoslovak journalists and representatives of the foreign press.

The two foreign ministers held talks in a very friendly and comradely atmosphere and reached a complete identity of views on all questions discussed.

The two sides informed each other of the implementation of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and especially the foreign policies of the two fraternal socialist countries. They hold that the relations between the SRV and the CSSR are firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. On this basis, cooperation in all fields, fraternal friendship and mutual support and assistance are developing fully in line with the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed in February, 1980 when a Czechoslovak party and state delegation led by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR visited the SRV. The two sides emphasize that the SRV and the CSSR will continue to develop their all-round cooperation, friendship and mutual support and assistance.

The Vietnamese side expressed sincere thanks to the CSSR for its all-round assistance, and highly values Czechoslovakia's contribution to peace and stability in Southeast Asia. It expresses high appreciation of the Czechoslovak people's achievements in building a developed socialist society under the leadership of the CPCZ and on the basis of its 16th congress. These achievements found an eloquent expression in the elections to the people's administrations at all levels held last June in the CSSR. The Vietnamese side highly values the CSSR's principled, active and positive foreign policy aimed at resolutely struggling to ease international tension and for world peace and socialism. It stresses the historic significance of the 16th CPCZ Congress for the development of the CSSR and the heightening of its international prestige.

The Czechoslovak side highly values the Vietnamese people's achievements in national reconstruction and in building the infrastructure of socialism. It expresses profound admiration for the Vietnamese people's successes in turning their matchless heroism in the liberation struggle into heroism in building a free and reunified country.

The Czechoslovak side highly values the SRV's principled, active and positive foreign policy, pursued in very complicated conditions, of joining Laos and Kampuchea in firmly defending peace and the security of the Indochinese countries, striving for peace, stability and cooperation among the Southeast Asian nations and contributing to the people's struggle for peace, security and progress in the world, against imperialism and colonialism.

The two sides sternly denounce the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the incumbent Chinese leadership in collusion with imperialism and other reactionary forces, thus posing a threat to world peace and security. They demand that China put an end to its military activities against Vietnam and Laos and to its brazen interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea through the Pol Pot gang and other reactionary Khmer groups.

The two sides note with satisfaction that the Kampuchean situation has obviously become stable. They warmly welcome the fact that despite the attempts of domestic reactionaries and the plots of external enemies, the fraternal Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, are obtaining undeniable achievements in abolishing the horrible vestiges of the genocidal Pol Pot regime and in national rehabilitation and construction.

The Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the resolute success of the general elections on 1 May were eloquent proofs of these achievements. These events have ushered in a new period of political, economic and social development in Kampuchea, and prove that the Kampuchean people have embarked on a correct path, an irreversible path leading to a happy future.

The two sides strongly reject all UN resolutions on Kampuchea and the use of the so-called "International Conference on Kampuchea" to interfere in the PRK's [People's Republic of Kampuchea] internal affairs and to cover up Beijing's policy of aggression and intervention which is the only danger to the sovereignty and security of the Indochinese peoples and to peace and stability in Southeast Asia. These efforts are inconsistent with the UN Charter and illegal and criminal.

The two sides resolutely demand the expulsion of the Pol Pot gang from the United Nations and the restoration of the PRK's legal rights in this world body.

The two sides unanimously declare that the problems of peace and security in Southeast Asia must be solved primarily [as received] by the countries of the regions themselves through negotiations and accord on the principles of equality, mutual respect, non-imposition of each other's views and non-interference in the internal affairs of each country. The peace initiatives of the three Indochinese countries expounded in the statement of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean foreign ministers' conference held in Phnom Penh on June 14, 1981 fully conform to these principles. The CSSR fully endorses this statement.

The two sides agree that the most bellicose imperialist forces, with their stubborn ingrained opposition to the easing of tension, to arms limitations and the improvement of the relations between countries with different social systems, are exacerbating the world situation.

That is why the two sides realizing their great responsibility for the cause of peace, welcome and fully support the peace proposals put forward by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, at the 26th CPSU Congress, as well as the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and peoples throughout the world. Following the statements of the supreme legislatures of the two countries--the CSSR Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam--the two sides reiterate their agreement in appraisal of the international situation and the objectives of the struggle to maintain peace expounded in the appeal, and express their conviction that these proposals will receive a wide and positive response from the parliaments and state leaders of all countries the world over, and enjoy support from progressive mankind.

The two ministers support efforts to ease military tension on the European Continent. They regard the NATO council's decision to produce and deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries as yet another step to increase the danger of military conflicts and pose new threats to all nations in Europe.

Concerning that matter, the two sides consider the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as imperative and believe that it must bring positive and concrete results to be recorded in a final document with a clear and politically balanced content. The two sides hold that to render the European situation wholesome, an agreement should first of all be reached on the convening of an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament.

The situation in Asia has also been seriously deteriorating. The main cause lies in the U.S. policy of playing the China card with the aim of opposing peace and detente in Asia. The two sides underscore the necessity for all peace-loving countries to join efforts in struggling to preserve peace and security on the Asian continent, thus helping to ease world tension.

In that spirit, the two sides welcome the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic on the signing of a pact of non-aggression and the non-use of violence in relations between countries in Asia and the Pacific.

The two sides express their profound concern about the dangerous development of the situation in the Near East, caused by Israel's continual acts of aggression. The two sides reaffirm that the sole credible approach to peace in that region is international negotiations for an overall settlement on the basis of equality, including guarantee of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

The two sides demand an end to the U.S. military escalation in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and support international negotiations on these problems.

The two sides vehemently condemn the schemes and actions of the imperialists and hegemonists in interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The two sides fully support the Afghan Government's constructive proposal of May 14, 1980 on a political solution to the situation concerning Afghanistan, which was also mentioned in Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The two sides favor the settlement of the tragic armed conflict between Iraq and Iran by means of peaceful negotiations.

The two sides strongly support the national liberation struggle for full sovereignty and independence, the struggle to eliminate every form of exploitation and discrimination and racism, including Zionism, all efforts for a new world economic order based on the principles of equality and equity.

After their talks, the two ministers signed the "Agreement on Cooperation Between the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for 1981-1985."

Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Co Thach expressed heartfelt gratitude to Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs for his warm and friendly welcome.

Nguyen Co Thach, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, invited Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, to pay an official friendly visit to Vietnam. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

INTERVIEW GIVEN REPORTERS BY KAMPUCHEA'S HUN SEN

AU171210 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[CTK report: "All-Round Development of the Relations of Cooperation and Friendship; the Kampuchean Guest Concluded His Visit to Czechoslovakia"]

[Excerpt] Prior to concluding his official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia, H. Sen yesterday granted an interview to reporters of the CTK, RUDE PRAVO, the Czechoslovak television and the Czechoslovak radio.

[Question] How do you assess the results of your visit to the CSSR?

[Answer] "During the visit I met G. Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and other Czechoslovak party and state representatives. The talks confirmed the full concurrence of opinions on matters of bilateral relations, as well as on the problems of the international situation. I am convinced that the negotiations have yielded positive results. I would like to recall that the basis for the current level of relations between the two countries was Comrade G. Husak's visit to Kampuchea last February, and H. Samrin's visit to the CSSR toward the end of last year."

[Question] At present an international conference on the so-called Kampuchean question is being held in New York. What is the stand of the Kampuchean People's Republic with regard to this conference?

[Answer] "Any solution of matters concerning the Kampuchean People's Republic in the absence of representatives of the legitimate government of the Kampcuhean People's Republic is inadmissible and is an interference in internal Kampuchean affairs. The Kampuchean people have established prerequisites for resolving their problems by overthrowing the Maoist clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. At present we are successfully resolving our country's internal problems, as was confirmed by the recent 4th Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the first session of the Kampuchean National Assembly. The people and government of the Kampuchean People's Republic emphatically condemn all illegal discussions on Kampuchea, in the same way that they are condemned by the states of the socialist community, including Czechoslovakia."

[Question] What is the current situation in Kampuchea, and what are the immeidate tasks that must be fulfilled?

[Answer] "More than 2 years ago our people liberated their country. In view of the extent of the preceding destruction, 2 years are a relatively short time; but despite this we succeeded in taking significant steps toward renewal. It is becoming apparent that there exists nothing that could reverse the situation in the Kampuchean People's Republic. The danger of hunger, which existed under Pol Pot's rule, has been averted; we have strengthened the national economy and stabilized the people's living standards. We have also achieved considerable progress in culture, education and science.

CHNOUPEK MEETS ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

LD171654 Prague CTK in English 1513 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 17 Jul (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here Friday Mohamed Salah Demri, general secretary of the Algerian Foreign Ministry.

They reviewed the present state and further possibilities of the development of friendly relations and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Algeria, and exchanged opinions on topical issues of the present international situation.

KABRHELOVA LEAVES FOR BERLIN WOMEN'S CONGRESS

LD162028 Prague CTK in English 1726 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 16 Jul (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat member and chairman of the Czechoslovak Women's Union Marie Kabrhelova left here Thursday for Berlin to attend a session of the Buro of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

The Buro was summoned to discuss preparations for the World Women's Congress and the 8th congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation, due to take place here in October.

PRESS REPORTS ON HODIC'S PRESS CONFERENCE

AU171645 [Editorial Report] All Czechoslovak dailies on 16 July 1981 reported extensively on the 15 July press conference given in Prague by Josef Hodic, a "collaborator" of the Czechoslovak intelligence service who recently returned to Czechoslovakia after spending 3 and 1/2 years in the West among Czechoslovak emigres. The longest account of the press conference is a 3,500-word CTK report in Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on pages 1 and 2. The CTK report discusses the following topics:

Quoting Hodic on links between prominent Czechoslovak emigres and "hostile" centers, the CTK report refers to Jiri Pelikan's contact with "Dr Bunza, representative of a U.S. organization" (no name given) to Zdenek Mlynar's "similar ties to U.S. diplomat Trinka, a so-called specialist, in Vienna," ties that are reportedly reflected in Mlynar's "increasingly evident anticommunist development;" and to Pavel Tigrid's "absolutely unambiguous orientation aimed at asserting the policy of any U.S. administration whatsoever."

Discussing the role played by individual emigre groups in "subversive" activities, the CTK account of the press conference deals in detail with Hodic's remarks on Czechoslovak Catholic clergy organizations. It mentions "centers of Catholic clergy such as the Christian Academy with its STUDIE MAGAZINE in Rome (Skalicky, Vrana); Velehrad with its branches in Austria, the FRG and Great Britain; the Cyril and Methodius Institute in Rome; and Bishop Pavol Hnilica's center with its PRO FRATRIBUS magazine specializing mainly in acquiring information form the Slovak Socialist Republic, using special methods involving the territories of Austria and the FRG. It also refers to the "Slovak separatist current" represented by the World Congress of Slovaks, whose leadership is reportedly trying to "follow up the ideology of clerical fascism." However, according to Hodic, there are "considerable conflicts" within the leadership caused by a "struggle for the leading position," conflicts that have their roots in "ambition and financial motives." The leadership is also "very heterogeneous," according to Hodic, because it reaches "from Chairman Stefan Roman, a noveau riche and today a millionaire, to Kirschbaum, a former functionary of Hlinka's party, the well-known Evzen Loebl, down to the aforementioned Hnilica."

In another passage, the CTK report cites Hodic's remarks on the use of individual Czechoslovak emigres by Western "special services." The report states: "Dr Hodic names, for example, Jiri Valenta, a graduate of the advanced school of economics in Prague, who works at the naval academy in Monterey. In the United States he very quickly became a specialist on military doctrines. He regularly visits Europe where he is trying to collect information, enlist collaborators and sound out individual persons from emigre circles, especially from the ranks of new arrivals.

"Another such person is Radomir Luza, university professor in New Orleans. Every year he spends a month or two in Europe. According to a minute-by-minute schedule, he visits everyone he is, was or might be interested in. He solicits information, finds out what is new, selects, evaluates and draws up a synoptic report for special services. There is also Rehak in Paris and others.

"As to the centers directing such activities, Josef Hodic referred to the so-called International Advisory Committee (IAC), which was founded in the seventies and also operates under the name International Literary Center. Its headquarters is in New York and its branches in London and Rome. It cooperates very closely with Pavel Tigrid and Jiri Pelikan. Its director, George Minden, is a personal friend of both these emigres. Also employed there is Dr Jan Brzorad, an elderly gentleman who is also a member of the editorial staff of Tigrid's SVEDECTVI. The organization's objective is to acquire very precise information, to categorize people and to process and evaluate such data, unambiguously for the U.S. Information Service.

The CTK account of Hodic's press conference also mentions his statements on CSSR emigre links with the PRC. Hodic is cited as having said: "You know that Jiri Pelikan has always had and continues to have certain contacts with China. Today the orientation toward China is obvious, especially because the man who has become CCP chairman is Pelikan's personal acquaintance from the time of his work in the international students' movement.

"Another man from the group around the LISTY magazine who has permanent contacts with China is Frantisek Janouch. He has even written books about it. This March the entire coordination committee of the LISTY group--Zdenek Mlynar, Zdenek Hejzlar, Michal Reiman and Adolf Mueller--was in China to establish closer contacts. The Chinese are naturally interested in those contacts and are making use of them accordingly."

After reporting condescending remarks by Zdenek Mlynar about the Charter 77 signatories, the CTK report cites Hodic on a similar case designed to prove the "wholly unsentimental" and "purpose-oriented" nature of relations between Czechoslovak political emigres and dissidents in Czechoslovakia. Following the "failure of a mission of Tigrid's messenger in Czechoslovakia, during which he called on [Charter 77 signatory] Zdenek Pokorny in Brno, among others," Tigrid reportedly remarked that "our relations would have been cemented had the messenger brought money" for the dissidents.

In the CTK report Hodic also presents his private observations on the characters of prominent Czechoslovak emigres, describing Zdenek Mylnar as a man who is "immensely ambitious" and whose relations with people are "absolutely purpose-oriented because he only likes himself and, apart from himself, does not essentially recognize anything and anyone." Unlike Mlynar, Pelikan is according to Hodic, "versed in languages and in moving in certain circles." Unlike Mlynar and Tigrid he also shies away from things where he could "burn his fingers," Hodic goes on to say, citing as an example the fact that Pelikan did not sign a declaration about a reconciliation between Czechoslovak emigres and Sudeten Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II.

The CTK report concludes by noting that "at the close of the press conference the collaborator of the Czechoslovak intelligence service, Dr Josef Hodic, expressed the conviction that he will still have the opportunity to go into some things in greater detail because all the issues cannot be dealt with thoroughly at once."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on pages 1 and 3 carries a 2,700-word Jiri Hecko article on the press conference, entitled "Treacherous Emigres -- A Tool of International Reaction." In describing Josef Hodic and his background, Hecko says: "Josef Hodic is 57 years old. He is graduate of the Department of Law of Charles University and of the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Prague, where he also worked as pedagogue and member of the Czechoslovak People's Army in a higher officer's rank.

"After the crisis-ridden period when the activity of some enemies of socialism in the CSSR increased and new emigre groupings began to organize abroad, he collaborated with Czechoslovak security bodies in exposing the intentions of domestic antisocialist forces and the reactionary part of emigres. During his stay abroad he accumulated a considerable amount of information and documents on the anti-Czechoslovak activity of reactionary emigre groupings."

In addition to subjects treated by the referent radio report and the TCK version, the Hecko Report also discusses the role of the West German Fridrich Ebert Foundation as one of the "sponsors" of the Czechoslovak emigres. "Treacherous activity", Hecko says: The West German Social Democratic Party's Fridrich Ebert Foundation is financing a study on the position of the workers class in Czechoslovakia and on the possibilities of 'mobilizing' it according to the experience of Polish counterrevolutionary forces. Engaged in this research is a collective of emigres led by J Lederer. The Ebert Foundation is also working--as is known from other sources--under official cover directly in Poland where it uses all kinds of forms to incite and encourage the revisionist forces that have infiltrated the Polish information media. In this context Hecko also mentions the Czechoslavak political emigres' attempts "to gradually set up illegal, so-called parallel structures in Czechoslovakia that would prepare the ground for a process of disruption similar to the one that is promoted in Poland by the leaders of so-called KOR [Social Self Defense Committee] confederation and by extremists from 'Solidarity'."

A slightly different, 2,600-word version of Hecko's article is also carried by Bratislava PRAVDA on pages 1 and 3.

Prague PRACE in in Czech on page 3 carries a 1,600-word F. CONK report on the press conference, entitled "Very 'Purpose-Oriented' People."

While citing Hodic's remarks on organizations which solicit information from Czechoslovak emigres, Conk says: "A 'remarkable' organization is the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees with its offices in Austria, the FRG and several other countries. Its official task is to help those who want to emigrate to the United States. I can assure you, Dr. J. Hodic said, that the interrogation by this organization is no pleasure for any emigre. Its people are trying to obtain all military and industrial information they can get and thus to substantially contribute to putting together the mosaic that is needed by information services. The Sudetendeutsches Archiv in Munich is also concentrating an enormous amount of historical and contemporary documentation on Czechoslovakia, and the documents as well as the papers originating in this archive are a very rich source of information for espionage services."

The Prague dailies LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, PRACE, and ZEMEDELSKI NOVINY in Czech carry 1,500-2,300-word reports by their own corresondents on Josef Hodic's press conference, reviewing statements that are covered by CTK or the referent radio report. Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on page 5 publishes an abbreviated 2,600-word version of the CTK report carried by TOLNICKE NOVINY.

CHNOUPEK SENDS CONGRATULATIONS TO GROMYKO

LD172242 Prague CTK in English 2101 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul (CTK)--Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko has received a telegram from Bohuslav Chnoupek thanking his Soviet colleague for his congratulations on his re-appointment as Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs.

Gohuslav Chnoupek voiced the conviction that the indestructable Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and all-round cooperation will continue to develop in the spirit of the 25th Soviet Communist Party Congress and conclusions of the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the benefit of both countries' peoples, in the interest of strengthening the unity and cohesion of socialist countries and in the name of victory of socialism and peace in the world.

PARTY, GOVERNMENT GREET NICARAGUA ON ANNIVERSARY

AU202035 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jul 81 p 1

[CTK report: "Message to Nicaragua"]

[Text] Prague, 17 Jul (CTK)--The CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government sent the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua a greetings message for 19 July, the second anniversary of the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution and the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

Among other things the message states that the entire progressive world is recalling the historic victory of the Nicaraguan people, united under the banner of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, and that it vividly recalls the heroic deeds of Nicaraguan revolutionaries who succeeded in overthrowing the hated dicatatorship, supported by North American imperialism. The peoples of Czechoslovakia are sincerely glad at the significant successes achieved the short period after the dictatorship was overthrown by the Nicaraguan people in the development of the economy, education, science and culture. On this occasion, the message states further, Czechoslovakia's peoples again express their support for the Nicaraguan revolution and their resolve constantly to deepen and consolidate cooperation and jointly to fight against imperialism and the reaction, and for peace and socialism throughout the world.

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua, a greetings message was also sent by the Central Trade Union Council to the Sandinist Center of Nicaragua's Working People (CST) [Sandinist Workers Federation]. The message highly appraises the class stands of the Sandinist Center of Working People, which, together with other revolutionary forces, has contributed to the victory of the Nicaraguan people, headed by their workers class, over the bloody regime of dictator Somoza.

RUDE PRAVO DISCUSSES ROLE, RIGHTS OF TRADE UNIONS

AU202045 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jul 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Partners With Equal Rights"]

[Excerpts] The past, most significant, period has unambiguously confirmed that the principles of our political system and their consistent enforcement by the leading political force of society--the Communist Party--are correct. This has resulted in their further consolidation in the country's life, and socialist democracy has deepened.

The governments' program statements and the discussion on these documents showed that substantial significance is attributed to the businesslike cooperation of state and economic bodies with the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [RTUM], which holds a significant place in the unification of society's creative forces.

The main thing is to develop the existing experience in this direction. It is becoming apparent that an effective way of doing this is by means of joint negotiations between the secretariat of the Central Trade Union Council [CTUC] and the Federal Government Presidium and similar negotiations of national and territorial bodies linked with them.

The system that is gradually being created in such negotiations with the trade union bodies on all management levels is creating the backbone for the working people's broadest participation in the administration and development of our society. These negotiations, leading to the formulation of the most pressing social tasks which reflect the most topical needs of society and the working people's specific, justified interests, are orienting the participating partners toward key tasks and specifying which partner is to see to what in the framework of his authority and what he is responsible for. The negotiations also clarify who is still in society's debt, and in what matters, and also how he will rectify this.

The experience of central national and territorial bodies confirms that we are taking the correct path in this.

Instances of a trade union body emphatically asserting its stands on draft plans and diverse measures of the economic management are becoming more and more frequent. The body acts as a partner with equal rights in the solution of common tasks.

Similarly, the trade union bodies' role in relation to national committees is deepening. Time and again their correct view has contributed toward positively solving a problem.

The range of activities of the largest mass organization of the workers class and all working people--the RTUM--on the threshold of the Seventh 5-Year Plan is wide. In keeping with the party's policy and in the interests of successfully implementing it, its activities are vitally permeating the operations of state and economic bodies in many directions. The purpose of this is to enhance the effects of RTUM's influence on the consistent fulfillment of the program set by the 16th party congress. Herein lies the center of gravity of the trade unions' activities. The more they work their way to this irreplaceable, specific role of theirs in society, the greater their contribution to the common cause becomes.

Such is the course set for trade unionists by CTUC's 12th plenary meeting resolutions and by RTUM's plan of activity from the 16th CPCZ Congress to the 10th All-Trade Union Congress. The trade unionists' co-participation and active share in the fulfillment of the programmatic line adopted by the 16th party congress are being worked out by the basic RTUM organizations in their annual activity plans and collective contracts; they conclude socialist pledges and participate in the written agreements between national committees and enterprises.

All these are forms and prerequisites for directly enhancing the working people's participation in national-economy and state management, as well as in creating and realizing local policy. Such is the contribution of the most significant mass organization of the national front to the unification of creative forces in our socialist society.

BILAK VISITS WEST SLOVAKIA REGION

LD172212 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the party's Central Committee, arrived in the West Slovakia Region today to examine the progress of the harvest in the Dunajska Streda and Trnava districts. Comrades Vasil Bilak and Frantisek Pitra are accompanied by members of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee Jan Janik and Ignac Janak.

OFFICIAL NOTES 'UNSTABLE' VIEWS AMONG ARTISTS

AU200638 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jul 81 p 1

[Leading article by Rudolf Jurik, head of a CPSL Central Committee department: "The Role and Mission of Art"]

[Excerpt] We live in a class-divided world, in a period of exacerbated ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. No one can evade this reality. Culture and the arts are important protagonists in this struggle. It is therefore no accident that bourgeois apologists and anticommunists ascribe great importance to culture and the arts in their struggle against real socialism. The conflicts taking place between progressive aesthetic ideas and reactionary views concern weighty issues such as the arts' social role, artistic freedom and the artist's responsibility as a citizen. Sociopolitical aspects and aspects of the world outlook are coming increasingly to the fore in these clashes.

There are cases, which are not isolated, of ideologically unstable views appearing in our arts periodicals. In some instances they are even subservient to views of bourgeois theoreticians, in the works of which the ideological essence of the problem is obscured and seemingly detached from contemporary ideological content.

Everyday life conclusively demonstrates that work with the "lessons" [party document on lessons to be drawn from the "critical" development in the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak society after the 13th CPCZ Congress] is permanently valid for everyone working in the sphere of aesthetics and art criticism. The "lessons" historic justification is also fully confirmed by the events in the Polish People's Republic.

Political-Educational work is thus and remains one of the key tasks of our artists' unions.

BRIEFS

JOINT PROTOCOL WITH UK--The Czechoslovak-British Joint Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation concluded its negotiations, conducted on 7-10 July in London, by signing a protocol. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jul 81 p 7 AU]

ADN CORRESPONDENTS REPORT ON PZPR CONGRESS DEBATES

AU201520 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 17 July on page 6 carries a 1,500-word report by ADN correspondents Klaus Anton and Paul Weinreich, entitled "from the discussion at the PZPR congress," reporting on and quoting passages from the speeches by various congress delegates. According to the correspondents, Henryk Bednarksi, first secretary of the PZPR Bydgoszcz Voivodship committee, states that "the actions of the Solidarity leaders deepen destabilization. In Bydgoszcz Voivodship they have made it clear without beating about the bush that as a social movement the association is of an openly antisocialist nature. In addition, such methods of plant management were being promoted as violate the character of the socialist ownership of the means of production." He requested the party congress to adopt a clear cut position on this issue, the report notes.

Miroslaw Major, chief engineer of the Slask Staszic mine, is quoted as stating that, in his view, the crisis was mainly caused by the violation of the elementary laws of socialism. Jozef Kaleta, rector of the Wroclaw economic academy, according to the correspondents, described Poland's economic situation as "more and more dramatic" and added that "soon there will be nothing to reform."

Henryka Kubia, head of the warehouse of the Zgierz Zeta plant, is reported as saying that "the PZPR has already lost very many good party members. In Lodz, she pointed out, more that 15,000 comrades had deposited their party cards at the plant committee and made their further party membership contingent on the outcome of the ninth party congress."

Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Lenin metallurgical combine, states, according to the report "that in overcoming the crisis 'under Polish conditions' such qualities of Polish society as love of democracy and sovereignty and the vitality of Catholicism were particularly important. He spoke of 'extremists' who, in his view, threatened this line. Miniur endorsed the so-called horizontal structures in the party."

Jan Labecki, party secretary of the Gdansk shipyard, according to the report, pointed out that only conscientious, well organized work will help Poland to extricate itself from the crisis and added that "we need the communist party in order to jointly, with the communists all over the world, particularly with the great party of the Soviet communists, defend peace in Europe and throughout the entire world."

Several delegates, according to the ADN report, pointed out that more than 3 million private farms exist in Poland side by side with the state and cooperative farms which cultivate almost 2/3 of the agricultural soil and that "this has affected food supplies to the population." Jerzy Paschke, director of the Poznan poulty combine, underscored the need to pass from declarations about the need to boost the output of foodstuffs to their implementation.

The correspondents report that Michal Chodorowski, director of the Szestno state farm in Olsztyn Voivodship, refuted the charges recently leveled against agriculture based on social property and that he added that: "It was sufficient to visit other socialist countries including the GDR to see full foodships--and this thanks to an agriculture that is almost entirely owned by society."

The correspondents devote some 450 words to a report on the speech by division Gen Jozef Baryla, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, who stressed that in view of the current special conditions all party congress documents must be extremely purposeful and mature. "We know that the program for overcoming the crisis must be implemented in a situation of direct threats by antisocialist forces which are being supported by foreign political diversionist center. We must be alarmed by recent events, by the strikes and attempts to disorganize the management of state enterprises under the pretext of radical self-management concepts," the general is quoted as saying.

Baryla further stated, according to the report, that "nobody can count on our forbearance if he acts against our social system, the party, against the alliances, particularly the alliance with the Soviet Union, and against the Polish-Soviet comradeship in arms."

In conclusion of the report Albin Szyszka, chairman of the coordination commission of the departmental trade unions, is quoted as endorsing economic reform, as opposing concepts which anticipate structural unemployment and as stating the readiness of the departmental trade union movement to cooperate in all measures for overcoming the present chaos and the general weakness of the economy.

CLOSING SESSION OF PZPR CONGRESS REPORTED

LD202010 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (ADN)--The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress concluded its consultations in Warsaw on Monday with the adoption of several decisions and a closing address by Stanislaw Kania. A decision on the party statute was made, the final text of which is to be presented to a national conference of the congress delegates after being edited by the PZPR Central Committee. An appeal to the Polish people draws their attention to the deep crisis in the country which is threatening the people's existence and the future of the state and asks them to unite forces to avert the threats to Poland. The congress further approved decisions on the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement and on the appointment of a commission to draw up a perspective program for the PZPR and a program decision.

Concluding his remarks, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Kania stated that the party's responsibility for Poland and for socialism had become clear during the congress deliberations. It was necessary to be clear about the fact that only deeds and facts would count in overcoming the crisis. The "line of understanding and socialist renewal" would be continued. Kania said that the PZPR must fight against anarchy and against the threat to socialism in Poland. Everything must be done to prevent tests of strength and to prevent confrontation. The situation in the country was dramatic, and new conflicts were to be expected.

There should be no doubt, said Stanislaw Kania, of the fact that the People's Republic of Poland would continue to be a firm ally of the Soviet Union and a firm member of the socialist community. On behalf of the congress, he sent greetings to the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

After the congress had ended, a reception was given for the foreign guests.

SWEDISH PAPER CITED ON PENTAGON 'LIES'

AU202014 East Berlin NEUES DUETSCHLAND in German 17 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by 'Dr. Stei.': "Pentagon's Magic Formula, 'Complementary' Armament Arithmeticians as Liers and Falsifiers"]

[Text] Like other newspapers before it, one of these days DAGENS NYHETER--Sweden's well-known bourgeois newspaper--has revealed the magic formula of the CIA, Pentagon and NATO propaganda departments, in charge of psychologic warfare, for "complementary" armament. The paper stated that the "military balance" report, published by a London institute on behalf of NATO, is based on falsified and intentionally manipulated figures. The aim of the inventions, attributed to "sources," are "the consistent understatement of the defense capacity of the United States and the West and an overstatement of the Soviet potential," the paper notes.

One asks oneself, why [illegible] being torpedoed by lies?

The motives lie in very real events. One such simple reality is, for instance, the fact that in Western Europe a militant movement for safeguarding peace has emerged, which has gained a hitherto unparalleled breadth and strength. Especially in those countries, on the soil of which the United States wants to deploy its new nuclear missiles--and which would thus incur the danger of a counter attack--the movement of opponents of intensified armament has assumed dimensions which the Pentagon had not expected.

The main profiteers in the business with war are concerned about the resistance to their policy of hysteria and the cynical playing with fire, against the regular intensification of the armament spiral. Representatives of the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism find themselves confronted with the emergence of a deep contrast of interests between those who want to turn others into victims and those who do not want to be turned into victims.

In order to have the dwindling group of followers stick to their confrontation policy, they resort to the most worn-out inventions from the store of political tricks. The lie of the threat which has burst a thousand times and which has always been patched up in the right way is polished up with simulated figures and data.

In this connection a favorite subject of the Pentagon falsifiers are the SS-20 missiles, which are exclusively installed on Soviet territory and for the protection of the USSR. Today the Pentagon propaganda machine talks about 200, tomorrow about 400, and the day after tomorrow about 800 missiles. Multiplication on the one side is complemented by subtraction, that is, intentionally keeping quiet about facts, on the other side. The same people who allegedly feel "unilaterally threatened" by the SS-20 missiles use a conjuring trick and "forget" that NATO's overall arms arsenal includes the "Forward Based Systems" (FBS)--the forward based nuclear arms system of the United States in West Europe--which has been in existence for many years. This system, however, includes fighter bombers of the F-111 E and F-4 F "Phantom" types and FB-111A strategic bombers, which are to be launched against the USSR from bases in the FRG and Great Britain. FBS--that also includes the nuclear-powered submarines of the "Poseidon" calss, which are equipped with strategic missiles. Today altogether 1,500 NATO nuclear arms carriers, which are directed exclusively against the Soviet Union, are deployed in Western Europe alone. There are 2,500 U.S. bases around the globe with 12,000 nuclear arms and 500,000 soldiers, stationed outside the country. To them one must add the Pentagon's expeditionary force of 200,000 men, known as the "Rapid Deployment Force," which is ready for action at any time.

All that is held back by the programmes of the Pentagon's propaganda machine. Instead, however, they, who some years ago were able to plug America as being invincible, have now started telling the story of an alleged Soviet military superiority. The blow is directed against negotiations, against the USSR peace proposals. The lies are intended to conceal the intention to achieve military-strategic superiority in order to be able to pursue a policy of threats and blackmail vis-a-vis the socialist countries.

This is how things are. To destroy the network of imperialism's inventions and to contrast the propaganda of lies by spreading the truth is an important contribution to safeguarding peace.

HONECKER GREETS IRAQ'S HUSAYN ON NATIONAL DAY

AU201057 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council Chairman, has sent the following telegram to Saddam Husayn, general secretary of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, president of the Republic of Iraq and chairman of the Revolution Command Council:

On the occasion of the national holiday of the Republic of Iraq I convey to you, the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, the Revolution Command Council and the friendly Iraqi people the cordial greetings and congratulations of the party and state leadership and the GDR people.

The GDR watches with interest the successful efforts of the Iraqi people in strengthening their social achievements and in developing their economy, science and culture. I am confident that the traditional friendly relations, which are beneficial to our states and peoples, will further develop and deepen.

May the broad international efforts for preserving peace, which is an indispensable prerequisite for a happy future of our peoples, be successful.

I wish the Iraqi people new successes and you personally, esteemed Comrade Saddam Hsuayn, health, well-being and creative vigor in your responsibile office.

GUENTHER KLEIBER, SADDAM HUSAYN TALKS REPORTED

LD201755 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1542 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 20 Jul (ADN)--Good opportunities exist for strengthening relations between the GDR and Iraq. This was agreed by Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolution Command Council, president of Iraq and secretary of the Regional Command of the socialist Arab Ba'th Party, and Guenther Kleiber, GDR deputy premier and candidate member of the SED Politburo, during a discussion in Baghdad on Monday.

Guenther Kleiber discussed with Saddam Husayn the dangers posed to peace and security in Europe and other parts of the world by the imperialist policy of confrontation. The GDR politicians affirmed the GDR's firm attitude by the side of the Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism and Zionism. In view of the exacerbated situation in the Middle East brought about by the aggressive course of the Zionist rulers in Israel, the GDR supported all steps leading to a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Above all, a settlement of this nature must guarantee the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to form an independent state.

Saddam Husayn praised the GDR's resolute stand for peace and disarmament and for implementing the process of detente. In view of the continuing arms race, securing peace in the world is a priority task.

The Iraqi head of state reaffirmed his country's determined struggle against imperialism and Zionism. He opposed any interference in the internal affairs of the Arab states, particularly the states in the Gulf region. Attacks such as Israel's aggression against Iraqi nuclear research establishments and the Palestinian people in Lebanon, which were a violation of international law and which were carried out with weapons supplied by the United States demonstrated once again Washington's unlimited support for the Zionist rulers.

Delegation Departs Iraq

LD201950 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1920 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 20 Jul (ADN)--The GDR party and government delegation ended its visit to Iraq on Monday and left for home. It was headed by deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Guenther Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Politburo.

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH GUINEA-BISSAU--On the weekend 11-12 July the working plan on cultural and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for the years 1981-82 was agreed upon in Bissau. The plan covers the relations between the two countries in the fields of university and technical school education, public education, culture and public health. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

SECRETARY KADAR GREETS PZPR'S KANIA ON ELECTION

LD202332 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 July (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, has greeted Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, in a telegram on his re-election to this post.

HAVASI-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM WARSAW

LD202244 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] The Hungarian party delegation, which had attended the Polish party congress, arrived home from Warsaw this evening. The delegation was headed by Ferenc Havasi, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. Its members were Janos Berecz, head of the Central Committee foreign affairs department, and Jozsef Garamvoelgy, Hungarian ambassador in Warsaw.

SRV FOREIGN MINISTER ENDS NONOFFICIAL VISIT

LD202330 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 July (MTI)--Nguyen Co Thach, foreign affairs minister of the Vietnamese Socialist Republic, paid a non-official, friendly visit to Budapest on July 17-19. The guest was received by Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. The Vietnamese foreign minister had talks with Janos Nagy, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Deputy Foreign Minister Vencel Hazi. At the meetings marked by a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the sides exchanged their views on the development of the relations between the two countries as well as on current international issues.

BULLETIN ON 7 JUL AIR FORCE PLANE CRASH IN AUSTRIA

AU201102 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Jul 81 p 12

[Bulletin attributed to MTI: "Bulletin on The Plane That Crashed in Austria"]

[Text] MTI reported at the time that an aircraft of the Hungarian Air Force crashed on Austrian territory on 7 July. The circumstances of the misadventure have been investigated by experts. They have unequivocally concluded that the pilot, while banking, lost control of the plane in Hungarian airspace, as a result of which it crashed in Austria, 700 meters from the border, in an agricultural area.

The pilot, who ejected and suffered only minor injury, returned to Hungary on the day of the misadventure.

The Hungarian side has thanked the Austrian authorities for their assistance to the work of the investigating committee, and expressed its regret over the accidential violation of the border that came about through the above circumstances.

KADAR GREETS JOINT YOUTH FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

LD202334 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 Jul (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, has sent a message to the participants of the 3rd Hungarian-Soviet Youth Friendship Festival being held in Budapest. He emphasized inter alia:

"Socialist building work, and the spheres of science and culture are inspired by Hungarian-Soviet cooperation and the friendship of our peoples.

Our peoples' commitment has been clearly shown at the highest level, at the 12th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party as well as at the 26th congress of the Soviet Communist Party. These congresses took unanimous oaths on the further development of our historical friendship, alliance and cooperation.

Our friendship and cooperation are based on the permanently developing and common creative work of millions of Hungarian and Soviet people. The previous youth friendship festivals have proved that our younger generations attend to, and develop the historical heritage--Hungarian-Soviet friendship that was born in the years of the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the Hungarian Soviet Republic and which has become indissoluble during the past 36 years--in an international spirit.

Both parties teach the countries' youth patriotism, protecting and improving our socialist achievements, as well as strengthening peace. Consequently, our common struggle in the international arena is focused on peace and safeguarding detente. Our countries' peace policy, the proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw treaty countries--which enjoy the support of the world's peace-loving forces--provide a real basis for the negotiations on settling international problems, stopping the arms race, as well as on disarmament and strengthening mutual confidence. We attach particular importance to the personal contribution of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, leader of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union, to the protection of peace, the peoples' friendship and the improvement of international cooperation."

KOROM-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM MONGOLIA

LD172030 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 17 Jul (MTI)--The Hungarian party and government delegation that under the leadership of Mihaly Korom, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the CC, was attending the festivities marking the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution in Ulaanbaatar, Friday returned to Budapest.

During their stay the Hungarian delegation was seen by Yumjagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party CC and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. The Mihaly Korom-led delegation sojourned in Mongolia from July 13 till 17 and studied the achievements of Mongolia in the construction of socialism.

BRIEFS

DECORATIONS TO SOVIET OFFICERS--Moscow, 20 Jul (MTI)--The Hungarian Presidential Council has awarded "Red Star" medals to two Soviet generals, Lieutenant Generals Aleksey Zaytsev and Vasiliy Bryukhov. The medals were presented by Hungarian Ambassador Matyas Szuros in Moscow, Monday afternoon. Lieutenant General Zaytsev was the deputy commander of the Soviet southern army group and played an important part in the development of the cooperation and brotherhood-in-arms between the Soviet and Hungarian armies. Lieutenant General Bryukhov was a lieutenant-commander of one of the reconnaissance detachments of the Red Army, which were the first to arrive at Hungary during World War II. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 20 Jul 81 LD]

NEW TRADE UNION PERIODICAL--Budapest, 20 Jul, (MTI)--The National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions is to launch a new monthly entitled MAI MAGAZIN. It is to cover articles on representing and safeguarding interest and on technical-scientific knowledge that can be utilized in everyday life. The periodical is to deal with cultural and artistic issues as well. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 21 Jul 81 LD]

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 19 JULY PZPR CONGRESS SESSION

Jaruzelski Congress Speech

LD191540 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1345 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at 19 July afternoon session of Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress-recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates. My statement in the discussion falls in the final part of the congress session. Thanks to this I have the chance not only of presenting the government's position regarding a series of problems but also of taking into account certain matters touched upon by the comrade delegates. The government will actively undertake the implementation of the tasks outlined in the congress resolutions. It will scrupulously consider all the proposals and demands raised during the congress discussion. It will carry out an analysis of the critical opinions and remarks addressed to it. It will draw from them, as rapidly as possible, practical conclusions. In past congresses, the chairman of the Council of Ministers usually presented the highest party body with the basic assumptions of the 5-year plan for the development of Poland.

Today we do not yet have such a plan at our disposal. Work on the plan is continuing. This stems from the highly unstable socioeconomic situation in which our country finds itself. The full complexity of this situation is presented in the government report on the state of the economy. We do not treat it exclusively as a source of information, as a register of phenomena and facts. Above all, it is an aggregate of experiences from which there flows knowledge and a warning for the future. For the first time in the history of People's Poland over the last 3 years an economic regression has been taking place. It is estimated that in the current year [word indistinct] national income will shrink by 15 percent. Such a steep drop in peaceful conditions is most rare in the world. Since we produce considerably less we have far less to divide up. At the same time, as a result of wage and social benefit rises, the money income of the population has grown to an unprecedented level. During the first half of the present year it was almost 23 percent higher than in the analogous period last year, while the quantity of goods supplied to the market fell by 10 percent. The effect is that market shortages are becoming more and more severe. Speculation thrives. The cost of living grows. Manifestations of panic and the buying up of goods are multiplying. At the same time, the Polish debt rises. These phenomena are unavoidable in conditions of a violent decrease in exports when one has to ensure the import of foodstuffs, cereals, fodder and the most indispensable raw and other materials.

In relation to the capitalist countries alone, during the present year the debt will grow by about $3 billion. That places us under the burden of additional payments on credits and unusually high percentages, which once more will worsen Poland's payments situation. The unfavorable development of the situation has required and requires that the government make many decisions of an emergency and relief nature. For it is chiefly a matter of mitigating the influence the crisis has on the living conditions of the population. And out-of-the-ordinary measures have been applied such as, for instance, rationing of sales. Interventionist purchases of articles of foodstuffs and other market goods are being carried out. Weighty decisions have been made and numerous undertakings have been set in motion on behalf of agricultural production. Many administrative buildings have been handed over to the health service and for other general social purposes. One could multiply the examples. Parallel to this, the government has conducted extensive work on systematic, long-range solutions. A program for overcoming the crisis and for stabilizing the country's economy has been worked out in detail as well as a draft reform of the economy as a complex. The introduction of certain solutions deriving from it has been begun. But so far all this has been unable to reverse the negative tendencies.

The work of the government often meets with criticism. We accept this criticism with understanding. The activity of the Council of Ministers and of its organs must be more effective.

Not all ministries and local organs for economic administration fulfill their duties with sufficient energy and effectiveness. They do not always have enough imagination, initiative and competence. That will slowly change. But it must change in a more decisive manner. However, one cannot fail to draw attention to the present, particularly difficult conditions of the work, state and economic administration; nor can one pass over the fact that many expectations and demands regarding wages and social benefits, investments and hard currency resources fall outside Poland's present economic possibilities, comrades. The questions are posed generally: What should be done in order finally to conquer the crisis? What is holding us up, what is dragging us down? What levers have to be set in motion in order for the flywheel of the economy to move forward? The answers to these questions, and the attitude of the government in these matters, were contained in the program for overcoming the crisis, which also appropriately took into account the guidelines for the ninth congress. Let me also be permitted to dwell on some matters and elucidate them.

What is the main, the most urgent target now? It is to check the falling trends in output and then to begin its reconstruction. There is no other way. Only an increase in production, an increase of the national revenue can constitute a starting point and a basis for overcoming the difficulties experienced at present.

This cannot be carried out along the principle of a simple recreation of the level of production. It is imperative to carry out structural changes aiming consistently at the development of agriculture and food husbandry. The implementation of this task has already begun. We understand the words of impatience which had been expressed from this rostrum too. Plans for the supply of the means of production for agriculture are not being implemented. This is a very bad phenomenon.

However, this has to be seen against the background of the universal, extremely profound decline of the level of production. It is true that as a result of the actions taken we have succeeded in protecting the production earmarked for agriculture from a still greater decline. However, only in more stable conditions, with a general increase in the output level, will the priority given to agriculture be shown in higher relief and become fully tangible.

It is also necessary to stress that the process toward altering the profile of production in line with the needs of farming needs time. The point is that this time should be as brief as possible. This depends to a great extent to the workforces, on the management of enterprises, and on the initiative displayed by them in this domain.

In this way it is possible to step up the output of many machines, tools and spare parts for which there is great demand in the countryside. In this respect the government has created advantageous economic-financial solutions. It will also firmly press the economic administration demanding the discharge of tasks aimed at gearing production in favor of agriculture.

A number of important, long-term decisions have also been made. For instance, despite the familiar investment and payments situation of the country it has been decided that at the cost of important outlays the licensed production of tractors should start at the earliest possible date.

The increase in the supplies of many other articles of which there is a shortage will also require new investment projects. This applies in particular to tires and car batteries. The creation of conditions to encourage the undertaking of work in this area of the national economy also represents a priority for agriculture. There are considerable opportunities here. Over 50 percent of graduates of middle and higher agricultural schools are at present employed in areas which have no direct connection with agriculture. Another example: Of the total number--almost 1.2 million--of the so-called peasant-workers, over 220,000 are owners of agricultural farms with an acreage of 5 to 10 hectares, including over 50,000 with an acreage of over 10 hectares. The government will create favorable conditions so that the owners of such farms can devote themselves exclusively to managing them.

Another production reserve is the restoration of animal husbandry in farms which have abandoned it. The rises in the prices of procurement which have been carried out and the envisaged reform of the retail prices of food should encourage this. Great opportunities lie in the activation of production in farms which, for various reasons, have been neglected. Rendering help to them is the job of parish authorities, agricultural services, trade union organizations and agricultural circles.

Supplies of food can also be increased through better utilization of agricultural raw materials at all processing levels, in storage, transportation and distribution. Many interesting proposals were submitted during the discussion in this matter. The government will examine and undertake the implementation of those which require central decisions. However, the settlement of very many problems is in the hands of local authorities, economic organizations and workers' collectives. The government will increase control and it will apply appropriate sanctions against those who are responsible for neglect and inertia in this sphere.

We realize how very trying for the community the great shortages of goods on the market are, how this complicates everyday life, and what a distress it is especially in large agglomerations without an agricultural base. There are very many questions about the prospects for improvement. It looks like there is going to be a good harvest. The right use of crops will make it possible to increase supplies and the provision of basic foodstuffs for the population, unfortunately, with the exception of meat and its products.

As regards the latter one should even expect a decline of the market supplies during the next 2-4 months. This is the outcome of the falling trends in livestock procurement. Improvement in this sector depends on the pace at which stock breeding will be revived, on the punctual implementation of contractual agreements, and on the size of the livestock deliveries to the procurement centers.

The decisions made by the government should ensure a gradual improvement in market supplies of medicines, personal hygiene articles and cigarettes. Among others, certain purchases have been made abroad for this purpose. Domestic output will increase too. These problems must be and will be resolved. One of the prerequisites for improvement in this sector is also the streamlining of the whole system of rationing and distribution. In this respect there is, in particular, room for an obligation for action from below, from the civic control.

The overcoming of the present impasse, the regaining of freedom in the molding of economic processes, calls for the acceleration of export. Low export creates a shortage in the means for import. It renders adequate supplies for production enterprises impossible and thus leads to a decline in production. This in turn diminishes export and consequently causes a further restriction of import possibilities, and thus also of output possibilities. And that is how this vicious circle turns, the whirl pulling our economy down. We must have no illusions that this can be resolved since this means only postponing the issue which grows in size year in and year out. The only way to resolve it is to increase export.

A particularly important and urgent task is to step up the export of those goods for which we can obtain ready cash as speedily as possible, that is coal, copper, sulphur, silver and other raw materials. The enterprises will be authorized to control part of the hard currency accrued through export. They will be given wider opportunities for direct access to foreign markets. In conjunction with the appropriate changes in the economic systems this ought to stimulate economic organizations toward expanding export and improving its profitability.

Comrades. There is only one method to liven up the economy quickly: better exploitation of the production potential available. In fact, this potential, or rather a lower potential, produced more a few years ago than at present. It can be seen from this that today it is working well below its possibilities. The machines and plants are being utilized in an inferior manner.

Work is less effective in the already shortened working week. This is not everywhere due to a shortage of raw materials, fuels and energy. There are domains where it is possible to produce more, providing there is a more active approach to resolving problems.

For instance, we know what a painful issue the shortage of cigarettes is. In some factories it would be possible to accelerate output if they increased employment. At the same time, in other factories in the same area, surplus employment (?occurs). Could these surpluses not be used in cigarette factories, or do the central authorities have to come forward with an initiative to solve this issue? Could it not be done quicker and better by the interested factories themselves, by their superior units, by the local authorities? This is no isolated case. There are many enterprises where a better use of working time, an increase in production discipline and, where necessary, increased employment, can give a rapid increase in production. The task of the economic administration is to introduce, in agreement with the workforces and with the trade unions, the most effective organizational solutions. The idea is that without decreasing the amount of free time that working people have on an annual scale we should create conditions to exploit production potentials for a 6-day week wherever there are sufficient supplies of raw materials and wherever there are possibilities for increasing socially necessary production.

The concrete solutions to this issue may vary: for example, extended leave or time off on days other than Saturdays. The decision on these matters should belong to the workforces. The main obstacle today is the sharp deficit in raw materials, fuel and energy. The government has made a number of decisions and taken steps aimed at alleviating the deficits. We are devoting special attention to the matter of increasing hard coal extraction. The government will fulfill its obligations to the miners. Whether this produces more coal or not will depend first and foremost on the miners, the mine managements, and the engineering and technical staffs of the coal industry. It is in their hands to solve this key problem for revitalizing the economy.

There must be a larger share of lignite in the fuel-energy balance. Among important measures considered by the congress is the acceleration of the construction of the Belchatow complex. The cheapest and simplest way to reduce the raw materials deficit is a more effective and economical use of fuels, energy and raw materials. This is not a new problem. We have not, however, made sufficient progress in this sphere. It is a long way behind what is possible. With this in mind, the government has prepared an emergency savings program. We are, however, counting most on the results of the new economic system. Beginning 1 January next year, new supply prices will be introduced. This, in combination with the principle of enterprises' self-financing, will create economic pressure for a rational use of raw materials and other products.

This will also increase the interest in and give new incentives to look for innovative solutions in the workplaces, in engineering and technical circles; and in the scientific research establishments aimed at reducing the material- and energy-consuming nature of production. In this sector of our economy, there must at last be, in the coming years, a real breakthrough. The production of many essential goods is presently hampered by the lack of often small amounts of materials or imported components.

Our industry is capable of producing many of them. Some of them even used to be produced in Poland. Beginning their production is, in many cases, possible either without or only with modest investment outlays. The government will create for these ventures appropriate economic and financial preferences.

Comrade delegates! The difficulties we are experiencing have given us another opportunity to find out who our real friends are. In the present difficult period for us, the cooperation and help given to Poland, primarily by the Soviet Union and also by some other CEMA countries, has been and is exceptionally valuable. We know that it is not a simple matter for our friends to give that aid. They have many of their own needs to satisfy.

A new form of cooperation with these countries should be the joint exploitation of free production potential in our industry. The first agreements on this matter have already been reached with the USSR and the GDR. Talks are underway with other partners. As a result of this, it will be possible to keep many factories working, particularly electrical engineering, light and the chemical industries.

Long-range economic, scientific and technical cooperation with CEMA countries will produce manifold advantages. Our trade with the USSR is stabilizing crucial sectors of our economy. It is characterized by a commodity structure quite favorable to us, in particular concerning a large surplus of imported raw materials, components and fuels over our export of them.

In our trade with the USSR, the price system is advantageous for us. I have to recall here the false claims and gossip which said that trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is unfavorable for Poland; that it has forced losses upon us. Other harmful rumors are also circulating. They must be actively and firmly combatted.

Comrades! There is no way out of this crisis without profound economic reforms. A draft was submitted for discussion by the ninth extraordinary congress which was worked out by the Economic Reform Commission. In preparing it, the authors took into consideration our own domestic experiences as well as those of other socialist countries.

The following are the pillars of reform: self-government of the workforce and central planning. We shall create all the conditions which are essential for the independent work of economic organizations, for authentic self-government. We shall strengthen central planning, which will be based on scientific principles and will represent an instrument for utilizing objective economic laws of socialism in socioeconomic practice. We shall shape mechanisms which will protect national interests. We shall apply principles and procedures for making decisions which will raise the level of cost accounting and will create a dam against particularism, against economic self-will and arbitrariness. The aim of all this is to raise effectiveness, to bring about a fuller realization of the principles of socialist justice and to increase joint participation and joint responsibility of working people for the affairs of the country and for its economy. We have adopted a high rate of work. Other socialist countries spread the preparation and implementation of reforms over a period of many years. This is why it is difficult to accept the accusation that we are acting in a sluggish way. The preparation of such a profound and complex reform in such extremely complicated conditions is an extremely serious and responsible matter. It requires thorough analysis, the studying of various views and confrontations and arguments. It is not necessary to prove the consequences of ill-considered decisions. Our country will feel for years the effects of the arbitrariness of the past period.

Thus, great and difficult work has been carried out in a short period of time. This was possible only thanks to the active participation of a large group of eminent scientists, economic practitioners and social activists. Members of the Commission of Economic Reform, all those who became selflessly involved in the work on the general conception of the reform and on its detailed solutions, deserve sincere admiration. I want to stress in this context that work on the program for overcoming the crisis, on the directions of the economic reform, and on other significant tasks have shaped broader plains and new forms of the participation of scientists in settling the decisive issues of the country. They have confirmed the great creative potential of Polish science. The government wants to use their achievements, expertise and scientific counsel as much as possible and on an increasingly broader scale.

We are intent on acting quickly and consistently to implement the assumptions of the reform. A calendar of the reform has been worked out.

A far-reaching reorganization of the central economic administration has been initiated. Drafts of legislative acts have been prepared which will have a fundamental significance for the functioning of the economy and the state.

Starting from 1 July, the state farms, as well as small scale production, will fuction on new principles. The experience acquired in these fields will be [word indistinct] exploited in the further work on reform.

In the period of the next 2-3 months, a general survey of legal regulations will be completed, of resolutions, directives and instructions of various kinds that regulate the functioning of the economy. Regulations which hamper initiative and which create a shield for securing utter passivity will be abolished.

The extremely important stage of bringing the reform into effect will fall in the fourth quarter of the current year. Economic principles and instruments will be given a concrete form. All the preparatory work ought to be conducted in such a space of time, so that beginning from 1 January next year the basic branches of the economy can function according to the new principles.

The raw material and energy shortages, the lack of equilibrium and disproportions in practically all fields, will make it difficult to bring some ultimate solutions into effect. Thus the transition period will prove to be indispensable, when by the very force of things, temporary solutions must be applied, as for example, the distribution of some raw materials, other materials or hard currency.

This cannot, however, disturb the creation of conditions for the gradual implementation of all elements of the comprehensive reform. The question is often asked: What are the guarantees that the economic reform will be implemented? This is not a question without foundation, especially in the light of past experience. In the community's awareness the memory is alive, that in the second half of the fifties and at the beginning of the seventies attempts at conducting reforms were made. They did not, however, bring the expected results.

What do we base the certainty that this will not repeat itself, that this time we will prove that in line with the theory of Marxism-Leninism our system is open to progressive transformations, that it has the ability to adapt itself to the requirements connected with the development of production forces.

For this there are three important and converging reasons: The first reason is connected with the social demand, with the determined striving of workforces and the entire community for the reconstruction of the mechanisms of socioeconomic life and organizational structures in such a way so as to make them meet the needs for coparticipation and coresponsibility of workers for the economy and the state, to create conditions for a full release of the creative forces of the nation in the development of economy, science, culture and other spheres of life, and to prevent in the future the occurrence of crises and deformations.

The second reason is connected with the potential ability of the cadres to prepare and carry out the comprehensive economic reform. The high standard of qualifications and the social dynamism, whose source is the young people of our society, combined with the experience of the older generation, provide an opportunity for a creative and independent resolving of complex problems by workers' groups at different levels and in diverse spheres of the economy.

The third reason is the political will to carry out the reform, expressed and proven in practice by the party and the state authorities. This is testified by the firm trend toward the development of socialist democracy, the restoration of Leninist norms of intraparty life. This is proven by the clear-cut definition of the directions of reform, based on a broad public debate, by their submission to the debate of the ninth extraordinary congress, and finally be embarking on practical steps designed to implement the reform.

Esteemed comrades, it is necessary to shed more light on the question of self-government and enterprises. It may be recalled that in the second half of June the Sejm marshal received draft bills on state enterprise and on the self-goverment of workforces. In the last few days some Solidarity branches have embarked on a campaign aimed to torpedo these drafts. An opinion is being circulated to the effect that social consultation on this issue was not carried out. Views are being expressed to the effect that these drafts do not ensure authentic self-government to workforces. The so-called social draft is being proposed as an alternative to them. We must not underestimate these facts. Delaying the legislative process and the holding up or delaying of the adoption of resolutions which are meant to create the legislative foundations under the building of reform will jeopardize the speedy implementation of this reform.

The government stance on the situation that has arisen is as follows: The charge that the draft statutes were submitted to the Sejm without consultation with the public has already been explained in the press and on radio and television. Nevertheless, let me remind you yet again that in March of this year the drafts of both these statutes were published. They were officially handed over to all the trade unions. The National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity also received them. For more than 3 months a broad social debate was in progress on the shape of the enterprise and workers' self-government. Also taking part in this discussion were a number of Solidarity factory commissions. On the basis of the rich achievements of this discussion the social team operating within the framework of the commission dealing with reform matters--a team which included outstanding authorities in the sphere of law, economy and sociology and also workers and economic activists--drew up drafts of the said statutes. So every condition was created for the discussion on enterprise and self-government to have the greatest possible scope. It must be regretted that the official voice of NSZZ Solidarity was absent in this debate.

Recently some Solidarity units have mounted a campaign of repudiating the government draft statutes, claiming that they do not answer social expectations. This is a misunderstanding. You see, the drafts submitted to the Sejm are based on the principle of the full participation of workforces in the management of enterprises and on the right to decide on all the more important matters relating to enterprises.

What is the nature of the main discrepancies between the government drafts and the so-called social draft?

The government drafts are based on the fundamental social system principle which states that production means entrusted to independent enterprise remain the property of society in general. On the other hand, the social draft plan is based on the assumption that the enterprise is the sole master of these means and that it has every right to them. The acceptance of this concept would mean essentially the transition from general national ownership to group ownership, and it would be inconsistent with the principles of social justice. For, in a more advantageous ownership situation, it would (?establish) employees engaged in modern works, well equipped and built by the efforts of the whole nation. But in less favorable situations, of people employed in old works with poor technical equipment, it would also restrict the possibilities of action and the responsibility of the state for the optimum exploitation of resources, for full employment and for the satisfaction of many basic social needs.

The question arises: Who would have to assume these duties?

No other socialist state, including those with the best developed system of self-government, has such a limited scope for state influence on the economy for the benefit of general social interest, as is assumed in the social draft project.

All aspects of the matter should be explained by debate. In the final instance it is the Sejm which will determine the shape of the bill concerning the enterprise and self-government of the workforces. Until this happens, no faits accomplis should be created which contradict the law. Today this is an important measure of the will to continue the dialogue and social agreements.

Comrades! Undertaking the great work of mastering the crisis, the people must be convinced that the road we are following leads to our goal. This is the fundamental condition for implementing the program which has been put forward, the conditions for mastering the incapability and hopelessness paralyzing human actions.

This becomes all the more evident if we consider an indispensable [word indistinct]. We, as a party, as the people's power, would profoundly lack credibility if we did not speak of this openly and frankly. We are facing the necessity of reforming retail prices, above all of raising the prices for food, as well as the prices of coal, gas and electric energy. This is absolutely indispensable for putting the economy in order, for halting the progressive disorganization of the market, and subsequently for the gradual abandonment of the burdensome ration system.

If we do not carry out this reform, then from day to day, like an avalanche, the market disorganization will grow.

If a food price rise to restore the food market balance had been introduced at the beginning of this year, the necessary average rise would have amounted to 66 percent. Today, in order to achieve that objective, it would be necessary to raise the prices by an average of 110 percent. Every delay in the implementation of the reform thus considerably raises its social costs. Variant versions of the price reform and compensation for it have already been worked out. The compensation should cover all sectors of the population. However, the strain of the price rises must take into account the financial situation of the various social groups. In particular, the groups worst off must not suffer as a result of the reforms. We also assume that it can be implemented only after a deep joint consideration, after genuine consultation and a broad social discussion. Such consultations will be held shortly.

The price reform will not yield the expected results if the phenomenon of printing money without any backing is not brought under control at the same time. We know well from recent experiences the meaning of this. Every quantity of money issued above the value of the produced goods deepens the market problems, makes shops bare, and entails a great increase in free market prices. We must oppose this phenomenon: This is in the nation's interest. Hence it is necessary to suspend wage increase demands: Even justified demands should be postponed until production, supplies of goods and services to the market have increased. Pressing for further pay rises and various expensive benefits through strikes gets us nowhere. Such methods, which strike at the vital interests of the whole society, should be resolutely rejected.

The scarcity of the means we have at our disposal tells us that we must pay particular attention to their fair division, to the consistent implementation of social policy, the basic task of which is and will continue to be the defense of those groups with the lowest incomes and with the lowest standard of living. Bearing this in mind the government has prepared a draft of changes in the system of old-age and other pensions and envisages that the lowest pensions will again be increased, that a system will be introduced which will make it possible to keep pace with the value of benefits in situations where wages and the cost of living are increasing--a mechanism which corrects the level of the lowest old-age and other pensions--and that new solutions will be prepared in the old-age pension system for farmers. Beginning in 1982 the social minimum will be the starting point for determining the level of the lowest wages and old-age and other pensions and also the principles of compensation for increases in the cost of living.

The discussion at the congress has again clearly pointed to the nagging housing problem. In the next few years the possibilities for increasing investment on housing construction will be limited. Thus, the optimum exploitation of the money allocated for this purpose and initiatives intended to develop private construction acquire even greater importance.

The government will urgently formulate principles governing an integrated and uniform housing policy.

Comrades: The effectiveness of our intentions and programs will depend above all on the activity, willingness, cooperation and attitude of thousands of activists and entire workforces. The democratization of management is not simply an organizational measure. It is above all a great sociopolitical process. We must all learn democracy and the culture of mutual persuasion as the case arises. This is the only way in which we shall be able to achieve throughout society concurrence in what we do resulting from the conviction of the need for the correctness of the adopted program. In this the point is not simply that agreement should be expressed for this program. The point, above all, is that this program should be supported through work, effort and honesty in carrying out one's duties. Without this even the best reform will not produce an improvement in the country's situation.

Experience teaches us that changes in the functioning of the economy do not take place without resistance. Inertia and hostility towards innovation are a kind of defense mechanism against reform. After all, reform--just as any change--carries with it a subjective threat and fear in the face of new requirements. This is why in the process of introducing the reform, party members, society activists and activists of all the trade unions should play a great party. They will face difficult situations which sometimes require unpopular actions. The implementation of reform may be threatened by various obstacles. The party can overcome them by mobilizing public support. This is why it is so essential that the implementation of reform becomes an important and permament direction in our party activities.

Comrades. Nearly a year ago agreements were signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. One can readily see the transformations which have taken place in social relations and in the life of the nation. In accordance with the resolutions of the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenium, socialist renewal is steadily progressing. It is irreversible. However, not everything is turning out as expected. The past months have been marked by a systematic decline in our country's economic situation. This process is continuing and is deteriorating dangerously. Not everything can be explained by the errors of the past although they were at the root of them. Also they are and will be the subject of a consistent settling of accounts by the party, a just settling of accounts to the end.

What, therefore, affects such a development of the situation today? Poland of 1981 is not the Poland of 1945. It is not rubble and smouldering ruins. It is a modern productive potential with a highly-qualified personnel. After the war, in our completely destroyed and ruined homeland, enfeebled and starving citizens undertook the great ordeal of restoration at the call and under the leadership of the party. What accounts for the fact that today, in incomparably better conditions, we are going downhill? What prevents the mobilization of the great potential, of the powerful economic machine?

Once again it is worthwhile to look to the autumn of 1980. The working class put forward wage and social demands. Many agreements were signed. Expenditures on wages and social means increased by hundreds of billions of zlotys. The working week was shortened. All this was taking place largely against elementary economic laws. However, there was the justified hope that pay increases and improvement of social conditions would contribute to the growth of productivity, to the increase of discipline and that in the final analysis, the increase in production would balance the increased expenditures. Such forecasts were also made by representatives of the trade unions. It did not happen like that, however. There is a progressive deterioration of the economy. The question arises: Why? Undoubtedly the authorities made mistakes too; but one cannot fail to see how their initiatives aimed at getting the situation under control were crushed. [Words indistinct] a bridgehead for economic improvement. Today the issues of a better use of production potential, a change in the structure of employment, and the carrying out of economic reform are to-be-or-not-to-be issues. Nobody questions this: On the contrary, words of support are coming in from all sides.

Do I see the possibility of realizing those tasks, of carrying out the congress decisions? Yes, I do. This requires, however, the active involvement of all social forces in implementing the program to overcome the crisis. Today we are still far from that. In face of the gigantic inflationary burden and the devastation of the market and in face of diminishing production, the demands are again multiplying for pay rises, additional holidays, bonuses and so on. After several weeks of relative calm, new flashpoints are arising. Unfortunately, the ninth congress has in this respect, a regrettable accompaniment. Against this background, one has to ask the question: Who benefits by it? Where are the Poles going?

I pose this question to the sumpreme party forum. Every aware citizen is asking himself this question. The answer to this question is of fundamental importance today. It depends on the attitude of millions--party and nonparty people, members of the trade unions--all citizens. It is extremely important to overcome the false conviction that one can demand and get pay rises, an improvement in the market situation and an improvement in working conditions without a rise in production and productivity.

The line of agreement must find support on a joint work front. This is the key to solving our Polish problems in 1981. [applause]

Comrade delegates: In recent months many critical comments have been made regarding the functioning of the state; the work of the state apparatus.

They were accompanied by numerous demands and useful suggestions. At the same time, the conviction was confirmed that, in order for our socialist state to effectively fulfill its basic duty, it must be a strong state. What has emerged from the many centuries of experience of our country is that, always, when motivated by class or groups' egotism, when there was disorganization, when there was a turning away from cooperation with natural allies, the state was weakened and put in mortal danger.

The strength of the socialist state is provided by the ancillary function for the nation of the leading role of the party, the democratism of the system of government and the subordination of the state apparatus to representative organs. The state creates the groundwork for the democratic and law-abiding activity of the socialist society. The stronger that groundwork is, the more fully social civic activeness can develop.

We are living through a stormy period in the development of the institutions of socialist democracy. Emotional factors, discussion, clashes of opinion are dominating it. This is, of course, valuable. Nonetheless, the work is barely beginning which should lead to more effective forms and methods of action, to the solving of joint matters, and to better administration-citizen relations.

An important place in this issue belongs to a clear definition of the duties and powers of the representative organs of authority and state administrative organs at various levels and of various kinds. The revitalization of the work of the Sejm and its commissions, inclusive of parliamentary control, and the enlivening of the activity of People's Councils and tenants' self-government promote a better functioning of the administration. A favorable influence is also linked with the cooperation of voivodas, mayors and chief administrators with the representatives of self-government and trade union social organizations which permits a linking of the solutions of local and general socdial issues.

The government, in accordance with its constitutional duty, undertakes cooperation with all social milieus. The line of dialogue will be continued with representatives of all religious convictions. We value the constructive contacts with the episcopate, based on mutual understanding and respect. The talks begun with the new primate of Poland permit one to entertain the conviction that the past cooperation will be continued and consolidated.

Comrade delegates. Socialist law and order is one of the fundamental principles of the functioning of: the state and its organs; its public utilities, enterprises and factories; organizations, unions and associations; every citizen.

The universal observance of the law, the observance of social justice, the feeling that the law is the same for everyone makes manifest the democratism of our system of government. As an outcome of that assumption, the cases, well-known in the past, of putting individuals above the law as if it were justified by the function they fulfilled, have been eliminated. Appointment to a high post in the state administration means today, above all, the undertaking of increased responsibilities. This is linked with cadre policy. State administration and economic cadres have, in the past year gone through a difficult school of operating in new outright extraordinary conditions. This has created a valuable reservoir of experience. At the same time, it enabled a more profound acquaintance with difficult, merciless, testing [words indistinct]. The majority of cadres confirmed their self-denial, their reliability and their genuine managerial characteristics. These cadres are a valuable asset of our people's state. We must protect and strengthen them and support their activity. A certain number of people have gone, however, who simply did not rise to the different, accumulated tasks. The authorities have parted company with others who found themselves in the state apparatus by chance or who behaved unconscientiously. Others were exhausted by the atmosphere of total negation of the achievements of past years and the various forms of pressure from anarchistic or outright anti-state positions.

Finally, a separate page is the initiated reorganization and its resultant shifts [words indistinct] the reasons for individual cadre changes are still varied. In the future, personnel changes in managerial posts should be planned and systematic. They must be within the general principles of personnel policy, defined by the party, and at the same time correspond to the specific demands and criteria for the choice of managerial cadres for the needs of the state or economic administration. There are, of course, obvious universal conditions here, as to the ideo-political profile, ethical and moral values and professional assets. However, at the same time, these cadres will be required to have: a sense of responsibility, discipline and initiative; persistence and conscientiousness in carrying out their entrusted tasks; initiative and resourcefulness in face of the new, complex and often surprising problems; and courage in opposing hostile or demagogic pressure in the defense of the interests of the socialist state. We need a renaissance of the Leninist style of leadership, which in the past, in a number of cases was distorted by shallowness, soullessness and arrogance. This means re-education and, if necessary, also for cadres to get rid of incompetent, passive people, geared to sitting things out. This requires a struggle against bureaucracy, which is understood as a system which puts a barrier between man and man, paralyzing his activity, and crushing him with a mass of irrational actions and issues.

A sensitive attitude to human problems and urgent requirements as well as to urgent social issues is required, above all, of the executive personnel and all members of the party who, as elements in those bodies concerned with supplies and services, are in direct contact with the population, the customers. The senior authorities, after all, are not able to perform this function for them in the field of commerce, in enterprises connected with communal services and social activities, in transportation and communication, in all those posts where one man should help another. The improvement in management cannot bypass its specific instruments. With this idea in mind the government is devoting special attention to the increase in the effectiveness of official supervision and all forms of control. Among other things,--following the instruction of the chairman of the Council of Ministers--a review has recently been carried out on the state of maintenance of investment projects which have been halted as well as on the construction of the cellulose paper complex in Kwidzyn. The results of the actions and the proposals forthcoming--including those addressed to the ministries concerned--have been reported in the press. From now on this is going to be the normal practice.

It was precisely during the last few days of the congress that three vast control operations have been carried out in the country involving nearly 500 inspectors. Among these inspectors were about 150 officers specially delegated from the organs of the Ministry of National Defense as well as a group of employees of the Institute of the Organization, Administration and Training of Cadres. A systematic approach has been adopted to a number of topical issues, including the state of the preparation for the harvest and the procurement and distribution of milk and fatstocks. The results of this approach and its conclusions will be made public in the coming week.

Comrades: [applause] Law is the basic foundation of the country. We do not maintain that law should never be changed; when it is necessary, one can and should change the law, in a legitimate manner, for the better as well as in order to bring it up to date.

The process of improving law should strengthen the socialist bases of our state and remove brakes on effective actions. At the same time, there is no and cannot be any higher necessity which would justify a violation of the binding legal order. This applies to everyone without exception. The government will oppose any attempts to usurp, stand outside or above the law. [applause] Only a state based on law can be a democratic state. Only a democratic state based on law can be a strong state. [applause] A state can implement its tasks exclusively in conditions of public and social law and order. A contribution is made to this by the admirable efforts of the Citizens' Militia, security service, prosecution organs and juridical organs. These conditions are essential for the development of socialist democracy since there is no greater threat and danger to it than anarchy which, like an illness, attacks healthy cells and destroys the organism, causes the disintegration of the state, and thus strikes directly at the fundamental rights of the nation.

These statements are full of concern but also of a sense of responsibility, since attempts to spread confusion are once again intensifying, attempts to exert pressure on the organs of state power, calls to strike which destroy the economy and weaken the social structures. Various conducted and planned protest actions exacerbate tension and increase the temperature. The question emerges: Who is behind all this, who is striving for confrontation, for an antisocialist row? It has to be stated clearly. This is how I read, among others, many voices in the congress discussion. There are boundaries which must not be overstepped. [applause]

It must be stated clearly that it would be disastrous for the nation, for the state. We must not allow this to happen. This is the patriotic duty of every citizen and, above all, the duty of the people's authorities. In the name of superior reason, when the situation justifies it, the authorities will be forced to carry out with determination their constitutional duties in order to save the country from disintegration and the nation from catastrophe. [applause]

Comrades, delegates! Many postwar years have already elapsed. Several successive postwar generations benefited from the feeling of peace brought about by the close proximity of our exclusively socialist friends and allies. Such a feeling, especially in circumstances of an absorbing internal crisis, makes the concern for security and peace recede into the background.

Meanwhile, the international situation arouses justified fears. During the recent period the danger of war has become more evident. The peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, of the socialist countries, are being blocked. The disarmament talks have reached an impasse. The development of the NATO armed forces goes on. The military infrastructure is becoming more congested. Preparations for the installation of new missiles and nuclear arms are being implemented in Western Europe.

In today's world every trouble spot is dangerous. However, most dangerous would be the upsetting of the equilibrium in Europe. Here the international climate particularly influenced the acuteness of the existing division. The so-called German problem here has not disappeared.

The revanchist forces are still powerful and active. Here at the highest level of military concentration lies the main sector of the frontier between the two systems. Thus this is the continent determining the fate of world peace.

And right here in this neuralgic plexus is the geostrategic position of Poland. The results of this is that in the overall balance of forces we count as doubly important. In the present international situation, our internal situation, our condition and value in the system of the defense of peace and socialism is of consequence not only to us, but, in general, to everyone.

The foreign policy and defense policy of People's Poland serves this cause. In essence the policy of national existence and the line of the party and state, irrespective of the internal deformations that have come about, have always and invariably been correct in precisely these matters and have fully passed the test and produced achievements which cannot be undermined. We shall protect, strengthen and enrich these achievements. We shall remain an active link in peaceful cooperation in Europe and the world. We must retain the position to which we are entitled by history, our contribution and sacrifices in the war against Hitlerism, our current potential and numerous peace initiatives. We shall not allow ourselves to be degraded to the role of a pawn on a chessboard. The quicker Poland returns to strength and health the more weight will her voice carry in international matters.

Above all, however, we shall remain a serious, trustworthy and trusting ally. The alliance with the Soviet Union, participation in the socialist and antiwar coalition of the Warsaw Pact states and our share in the development and use of the collective potential of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces has been, is and will be the fundamental precept of our defense doctrine. [applause]

It is Poland's historical fate and her great achievement that the most important national task--the defense of our frontiers, independence and sovereignty--can be realized most fully through the community of socialist interests and through the internationalization of these interests. We attach the greatest importance to Polish-Soviet friendship and brotherhood-in-arms. This has a glorious tradition and is alive and cordial in present-day conditions. In the perfection of the Polish People's Army we are guided by the universal principles of an army of a new type. We also derive benefit from the experiences of our friends, above all, from the achievements of the Soviet Armed Forces. At the same time we are actively setting about finding our own solutions which are in accordance with national tradition and the given situation by cultivating and enriching the customs and characteristics of the Polish Army.

In the present difficult period our Armed Forces have remained intact. They have maintained their cohesion and discipline. They are always ready to defend the fatherland and its socialist achievements. [applause]

The Army is a great armed force but it wishes--and does everything--to serve the nation in peacetime needs. [applause]

The nation and the party trust the Armed Forces and appreciate their stand. This was expressed by Comrade Stanislaw Kania in his report to the congress. This has also been reflected in the speeches of comrade delegates. This is placing an obligation upon the soldiers, and I am convinced that as always they will not let you down. [applause]

Comrades, the party and the authorities of People's Poland have invested a great capital of good will in social renewal and in the line of accord. It is always open to cooperation with all social forces desiring the good of the people on the ground of socialist Poland. This concerns also Solidarity and its million-strong masses. We expect our comrades affiliated in that union to ensure that it pursues a truly trade union course and that at the same time they will not fail to counteract the intentions and enterprises of extremist forces, hostile to the party and causing damage to socialism. Here there should be no room for understatement, there must only be clarity. [applause]

We are living in unusual times. History will declare its judgment but first of all life will show whether we have chosen the right way, whether we have followed it wisely, courageously and prudently. It was and still is a very difficult way, a way both of accord and struggle. It requires great effort, an altogether superhuman resilience to maintain the course, to defend socialism, and to overcome the crisis with our own resources.

Today the exercise of authority is an enormous burden. Thus it is not a question of personal posts. It is the easiest thing to hand over a post, which brings great relief. But people's power, the power of the socialist state, cannot and will not, be surrendered. [applause] On this score there should be no illusions, no playing with fire, [applause] because in our historical times only this power guarantees national existence on the basis of socialism and of socialist renewal, within just borders and with a sense of security and peace. These values must be inviolable. For Poland, [applause] for Poland to be Poland, today it must be a socialist Poland. [tumultuous applause]

The congress could be a turning point. It will implement its historical destiny when our party program will reach and meet with social understanding. The party is the subject of criticism but also the subject of hope, since only a healed party, a strengthened and fully united party, which is rebuilding the ties with the community and deepening its Marxist-Leninist identity, is capable of leading the country out of crisis and of ensuring its further successful development.

In fact, the destiny of Poland is being decided. We must trust that the party will fully rebuild its leading role, that our nation will release the splendid capacity for a patriotic mobilization, for resistance to dangers, which has so often been shown in history. That already now, starting tomorrow, we will march in harmony along the path outlined at the congress. [applause]

Only this path leads to a better future of the nation, to a better future of socialist Poland. [prolonged applause]

Poznan Secretary's Address

LD200435 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1825 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Speech by Edward Skrzypczak, Poznan Voivodship party first secretary, at the 19 July session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--recorded]

[Excerpts] In August 1980 the party, directed practically at all its levels by professional--in the pejorative sense of the word--activists and secretaries found itself, almost overnight, in a diametrically opposed circumstances, that is in conditions of a change from the luxury of exerting power to the conditions of a fierce political struggle for the real role of the party at industrial enterprises, and also in the society and nation as a whole. In many cases there took place an actual disintegration of organizational structures and a consequent impotence of local party organizations, factory committees and other elements of the party.

From this state of defeat we were rescued--at least at the Cegielski works in Poznan--literally by the class instinct of the workers. The election campaign spontaneously organized by the grass roots--connected with the replacement of party secretaries and the spontaneous evolution of horizontal bonds of communications, information and propaganda among party organizations which responded to the need expressed by the members--constituted a counter-balance to similar activities of our competitors, if not opponents, in the fight for the control of souls among the workforces.

At the same time we had to cope with the painful realization of the meaning of the leading role of the party at industrial enterprises. This role which, before August, was decreed and formally laid down, is nowadays often in practice questioned or ignored. Now we must fight for it at the place which is, in my opinion, the most important for the party and the working class, that is at the factories. What are the features of the real situation in which the majority of our party organizations at industrial enterprises find themselves at present?

Firstly, the dramatic economic crisis about which much has been said here already hits working people in two ways: in the market and as regards the supply of materials and technical facilities at their places of employment. This crisis continues to be identified with our party.

Secondly, the moral crisis resulting from the past policy of the propaganda of success and from the disclosure of the abuses by former prominent personalities which, unfortunately are still frequently identified in the mind of the public with us, the party.

Thirdly, the breakdown of social discipline and work discipline connected with the erosion of state, economic and administrative authority, about which, too, much was said here at the congress.

The fourth element of the present political situation is the social-political movement of Solidarity which is competitive with regard to our political structures.

The fifth element is the growth of clerical moods and views: An important role is played here by the search for, and attempts to find, moral authority and personal behavior models in the ideals of the Christian doctrine.

The sixth element is the deliberate and purposeful action by the class and ideological enemies of the PZPR, who very skillfully make use of all the above-mentioned circumstances of the present situation; these enemies have, in many cases, succeeded in exploiting our own mistakes--even in the period since last August--and in finding their way to the workforces from whom they managed to obtain genuine response and support.

In the speech of Mr Kurowski, an expert of the National Consultative Commission, made at a pre-election meeting of the Interfactory Founding Committee in Bydgoszcz a few weeks ago I found elements of tactics in the struggle against the PZPR which are exceptionally dangerous. These elements depend not on an open conflict but on eliminating, ignoring, by-passing party organizations at industrial enterprises. There is no need to break up the party premises, tear down banners, personally ruin people, indulge in pamphleteering propaganda--although these methods are also frequently used. It is enough simply to isolate, to ignore party organizations and push them off to the sidelines of the issues pertaining to the life of workforces. This, in my opinion, is a very dangerous form of tactics, because it amounts to tactics of apparent calm and tolerance. It is easy to be hoodwinked by such tactics, especially in those places where there are still people at work in the PZPR who are passive, lazy and ideologically not involved and where the party committees look more like offices than political headquarters. What are the conclusions that this suggest?

Firstly, we should develop in the awareness of the workforces the just assertion that it is not the party, not we--or you, party comrades throughout Poland--who were guilty; guilty was the team of leaders whom the working class rejected and this was confirmed by the present congress. Of course this assertion requires a strict and consistent bringing to account, under political and criminal procedures, of all those guilty, without exception. This is the task which is still ahead of us.

Secondly, we should make the maximum use of the election campaign that is completed and which ranged from the local party organizations to the Central Committee, as a result of which there appear new people at the head of the whole party and all the party organizations who possess credibility and who can refer directly to the workforces.

Thirdly, new bold political and propaganda initiatives should be launched; Comrade Rakowski, among others, spoke about them at this congress.

In my opinion the most important place for the party is the factory, the industrial enterprise. The party organization and the party committee, performing the functions of inspiration and control with regard to the management as well as ideological and educational functions with regard to the workforce, must be the umpires between factory management and the trade unions, seeking to integrate the interests of workforces with the interests of the general public.

I think that a completely new form of party elements is required, especially at the level of voivodship committees. A party committee must not be an office, but a political headquarters. We should not be referring to the voivodship committee building but to the party house. The main guidelines in the adoption of decisions by executive bodies and secretaries should be derived from generalized views of workers, especially at large industrial enterprises. In order to achieve this we should set up political planning cells in voivodship committees as well as public opinion study centers, aggressive and vertical structures of propaganda, an efficient network of communications and information. It is absurd that in the committee in which I started to work a few months ago there was a color television set almost in every room, but there is a shortage of copiers and Telex machines for links with local committees. In local committee premises there are television sets but there are no Telex machines or copiers. [applause] We should produce a new model of cooperation with the press and television service. The faces of secretaries in each area should be familiar to people. The aktivists should address members of the local population and the local workforces.

Referring to the speech by Comrade Rakowski of 2 days ago I agree that a line of accord, as the main and only element of the post-congress program, is definitely inadequate; in my opinion this is a somewhat defensive concept. Using the results of the recent election campaign which provides the credibility to new secretaries who are not burdened by the shameful past of the 1970's, but supported by the century-long ideological tradition of the workers' movement in Poland, the party should employ--as the core of its postcongress program--the line of openness to a dialogue with the nation over the whole range of aspects of life, from the trade unions to the church. Our ideological opponents proclaim, and this is what the activists of the Social Self-Defense Committee proclaim, or else this is what comes out in practice: Who is not with us is against us. We should reply to this: Who is not against us, against the interest of the working class and of socialism in Poland, is with us. [applause]

I would like to state, for the benefit, in particular of the working class at the Cegiesli works and other industrial enterprises, that as a workers' party we are without a doubt in favor of far-reaching self-government of state enterprises. But the forms of this self-government, which are prompted by some people--for instance, in the form of group ownership--amount to demagogy and an antiworkers device which is of antisocialist character and to which we, as a party, cannot agree. This was raised by Comrade Michaluk. [applause] I have said deliberately: For the benefit of the working class of the Cegielski works, because on Thursday, 23 July, a big meeting is to be held at those works, organized by our, if not opponents, then at least competitors, to launch an all-Poland struggle for self-government in the concept of the network [of Solidarity].

In this connection I submit a motion for the commission on decisions and resolutions that a relevant entry be made in this connection in the decisions of the congress, addressed to the Sejm and the government. This matter is urgent in-so-far as again it is necessary, regrettably, to state that we have really overlooked this problem. And our opponents forestalled us on this score.

I would also like to note that the speech by Comrade General Jaruzelski defined unambiguously the fact that the democratization of public life in Poland, the democratization of the party, as reflected amply by this congress, that the line of accord and openness so persistently and patiently implemented, amounts to proof of the strength of the party and does not prove its weakness as stated, or assumed, by some of our opponents. I have come across such an opinion, in conversations, purporting that we are so much in favor of accord and openness because we are weak. I think I have the moral right to state that the opposite is the case and that perhaps our opponents will eventually find this out.

NIK Deputy Chairman Speaks

LD192348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1850 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Following the announcement of the [PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat] election results, it was decided to continue the congress debate. Delegates heard a report by deputy chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] Wladyslaw Pilatowski who, in accordance with earlier demands by delegates, presented a statement on the facts given at a meeting with journalists at a press conference 2 weeks ago. They concern NIK's findings, which wholly or partially confirmed the accusations referring to persons in leading posts. Following the report by the NIK deputy chairman, a break in the debate was ordered until 2100.

Proposed Statute Changes

LD192305 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2033 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Speech by Zdzislaw Kurowski, chairman of the PZPR Congress Statute Commission, at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress on 19 July in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Comrade delegates: In the precongress period a particularly impassioned, committed and frequently altogether controversial discussion focused on the statute as a form of the constitution of our Marxist-Leninist party. The present statute has been created over many months in the course of the party debate, through proposals put forward by local party organizations and in consultations during meetings of the voivodship precongress teams. The continuation and development of the discussion of the draft statute took place during the sessions of the congress, including the deliberations of our Second Problem Team 2. The Statute Commission has also worked very hard on the project. Authorized by this commission, I would now like to present the main objectives and the salient ideas of the changes which we are proposing for introduction into our party's statute.

The proposed draft statute of the PZPR reflects the wide collective wisdom of the party which derives from collective experience. Every voivodship party organization has contributed its ideas and experience to the draft statute. In both the Congress Commission and the Statute Commission we have been open to the best solutions in determining the principles for the functioning of our party. It can therefore be said that the statute submitted for the approval of the congress has been written by the whole party, that it has been formulated as an expression of a universal aspiration for the democratization of the inner life of the party.

Following the theory of Marxism-Leninism, founded on the Leninist principles of democracy and discipline and continuing the traditions of the Polish workers' movement, the draft statute remains faithful to the ideals of patriotism and internationalism: It takes into account the experience of the international workers' movement and reflects the topical conditions and needs of the building of socialism in our country. The draft statute tries to meet the general aspirations and expectations with regard to the creation of a system of institutional guarantees aimed at the prevention of deformations in the functioning of the PZPR.

The main directions of the changes in the statute aim, among other things, first at a clear definition of the superiority of the elected bodies over the executive bodies and secretariats at all levels, above all, through periodic control of their activities. For the first time in the statute of our party there has been a definition of the powers of the Politburo, the Secretariat and the first secretary of the Central Committee.

Second, the draft statute formulates the democratic principles of the election of the authoritive bodies and delegates and contains the need--demanded by members of the party--to renew party bodies by introducing the principle of a term of office: In this way we have formulated what in colloquial language--within the party and outside it--has been called the need to create a rational system of rotation of cadres and party officials.

Third, also essential is the proposal for the limitation of the practice of entrusting to one person several executive functions within the party, state and public system at the same level of activity especially within executive organs.

Fourth, the proposed changes bring out the special role and rights of the local party organizations as well as of members of the party in the implementation of intraparty democracy, ensuring for them their role in the shaping of the program and the current policy of the party. The introduction and the development of this principle in the statute create the basis for increasing the participation of the entire party, right from the grassroots level, in the formation of its program as well as much greater identification of party members with the general line and program of the party. The new rights strengthen the position of the local party organizations within the structure of the party through extending their power, among other things, to recommend party members to posts in party bodies, to express opinions on the suitability of candidates for work in executive posts and to assess the stance of members of the party discharging various functions in party bodies at various levels, in state organs and in public organizations.

Fifth, the process of socialist renewal and the present political realities of the country as well as the democratization of social relations have dictated the need as the democratization of social relations have dictated the need for a more precise definition in the statute of the directing [kierownicza] role of the PZPR in the state and the leading [przewodnia] role of the PZPR in the society. The party carries out its leading role in the society, above all, through the members of the party acting in the organs of authority, in state and economic administration and in public organizations, cooperatives and self-government.

Sixth, the changes and adjustments in the statute contain formulations reflecting demands concerning the principles of the openness of party life which were so strongly emphasized both during the precongress discussion and in the course of our congress deliberations. These principles especially concern the supply of information, the duty to arrange widespread consultations before important and essential decisions are made and the provision of answers to proposals submitted to party authorities, as well as the duty to submit periodic reports on the activities of executive organs.

Seventh, the statute introduces the principle that the party apparatus performs a subordinate role with regard to the party bodies. It stresses its essential place and importance as the organizing agent of current party work, utilizing and spreading the best results of experience in the organization of party bodies at various levels.

Eighth, the new draft of the statute increases the powers of the party control commissions and the auditing commissions elected by the congress and the conferences of the party; and there has also been an essential widening in the scope of their activities.

Apart from that, the draft statute contains many other important changes and additions. Comrades, the introduction to the statute of the above-mentioned principles constitutes a profound reform in the life of our party and its operations. The fundamental precept of this reform is to ensure that there are guarantees for the development of intraparty democracy and the practical observation of Leninist principles and norms. The democratization of intraparty life is a continuous process. One must see both its positive side as well as the possibility that someone might take advantage of the democratic principles to reduce the efficiency or even the unity of the party.

Taking into consideration such possibilities, I would like to point out that in the 19th point of the statute given to the comrade delegates, we have appended the following statement: Intraparty democracy and the freedom of discussion and criticism cannot be limited and restricted or be taken advantage of in order to use them for purposes contrary to the ideology and policy of the party and the party's political and organizational unity. Hence, particular stress in the statute is put on observing democratic centralism as the supreme principle in the functioning of the party, the observance of which guarantees the political and ideological unity of the party.

Without democratic centralism the party will cease to be a united body capable of fulfilling its leading role. With the broadest understanding of democracy, [word indistinct] program, in the election of party authorities there cannot be a single link infringing on party discipline and evading the duty to implement the party resolutions. The point is that free discussion and unrestricted criticism must not be used to weaken the party, to push its links to reformist positions, or to strike at its ideological and organizational unity. Democratic behavior and discipline are the most important foundations of the correct and effective functioning of the party.

Comrades, introducing so many significant and democratic changes in the party, the Statute Commission, following the in-depth debate, rejected all proposals which could encourage activity not in agreement with the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist party and which could undermine its ideological and organizational cohesion and limit its leading role. That is why, among other things, proposals were not taken into consideration which would, according to the comission, lead to the weakening of the influence of the party in the implementation of the economic policy.

The economy has been and will continue to be a significant sphere of social life because we are creating a material base for the realization of the social goals of socialism through properly conducted economic activity.

It would be a great misunderstanding to deprive, or even limit, the party as to its opportunity to influence the solution of economic problems and on the direction of processes which intend to end the economic crisis. Two extreme and mutually exclusive positions have not been taken into account; they concern the attitude of the party to the believers. This question was hotly debated during the precongress period. Both these extreme positions, one expressing the need for recognizing ideological and world-outlook pluralism in the party, and the other maintaining that only people subscribing to the materialist world-outlook can belong to the party, were found unacceptable both in the course of the precongress discussion and during the debate within the Statute Commission. We propose that our party follow the principle of receiving into its ranks those people who accept the political program of the party. But, at the same time, the party, in accordance with its ideology, favors the scientific world-outlook and will propagate it within its own ranks.

On certain issues there have been substantial differences of opinion within the commission. They concerned, among other things, the passive election right for members of the party who are not delegates, the principles of the preservation of the delegate mandates for the period of the whole term of office of the authorities, the extent of the demands that can be put by party authorities to the party press and its role as well as the role and function of the party apparatus and the definition of its powers. The discussion also covered the duration of the terms of office at various levels of authority. There has also been a vigorous discussion on the issue of maintaining the right of youth organizations to recommend candidates for membership in the party. The differences of opinion also concerned the question of leaving a proportion of the membership contributions in local party organizations, and the required number of party members or delegates needed to summon a congress. On that latter issue two views prevailed: One, adopted by the majority of the members of our commission, to the effect that the congress should be summoned with the consent of one-third of the total number of delegates to the congress, and the other--which was in minority--that such a decision should be adopted with the consent of two-thirds of the total delegates.

Comrade delegates! We have submitted these issues, after a broad and stormy discussion in the commission, for consideration to the congress. They are contained in the proposed statute which has been supplied to you, including the errata section which has also been circulated. We would like you to be good enough to give your decision and final decision on some of these issues.

As to the regulations covering the elections of the authorities and the delegates, the Statute Commission has begun its work and has achieved some progress, but the great number of remarks that have been contributed on the subject of the statute have prevented us from continuing our work on the preparation of the regulations governing elections. We are, therefore, proposing that a resolution be adopted authorizing the Central Committee and making it incumbent upon our commission to draw up these regulations on the basis of the adopted statute and the basic election principles contained in that situation, because in fact such principles have been introduced into the statute.

The adopted statute would create favorable conditions for the preparation of a final draft of election regulations. If the statute does not decide certain issues there will be considerably more difficulties in the formulation of election regulations. We have submitted a relevant text of such a resolution, on behalf of the commission, to the Secretariat of the congress.

The special situation for which the draft statute was drafted has created a large document containing a great deal of detailed formulations which normally do not always quality for inclusion in a statute. I am personally aware of this fact as chairman of this commission. As a result of this preliminary work, we have proposed to the congress a statute which consists, in its original version, of 101 points. After a few days of work this statute now contains 88 points and a number of issues have been excluded in order to be put into election regulations. At this point it is difficult not to recall, and to reflect, that the statute elaborated by Vladimir Ilich Lenin and adopted at the Second Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Russian workers' consisted of only 12 points. Also the statutes of the predecessors of our party were much more compact; for instance, the statute of the Polish Workers' Party adopted at its first congress consisted of 52 points. The statute which has until now been valid in our party contained 62 points. The number of remarks submitted, even during today, and concerning the draft of the statute has been considerable and the commission has worked for 4 hours, and at a very intensive pace. Therefore, I think we are justified in requesting you, comrade delegates and the congress as such, to authorize the newly elected Central Committee to make corrections in the wording, which would not alter the essence or the merit of the original formulation, because we are aware of the possibility that there are inaccuracies and statistical imperfections in the text due to the haste with which the work has been done.

Laws live when they are applied. Therefore, the most important thing is to ensure that the principles of the statute be applied universally in practice, in their entirety and without any exceptions or limitations. This subject, too, the subject of the role of the statute in the life of our party, has been an issue which aroused particular interest in the discussion both in the Second Problem Team and within the Statute Commission.

It has been established on many occasions that for the party statute not to remain a dead letter, it is necessary to have a rich ideological life, a continuous debate, criticism and self-criticism. This is possible under circumstances of ideological and political unity within the party, its organizational cohesion and observance by it of the norms of democratic centralism. Whether the statute will become a veritable law of our party will be decided by the members of our party, in all its branches and echelons.

Everything depends on their personal bearing, honesty, communist zeal and adherence to principles. Our whole party must stand guard over the statute, starting with everyone of us; delegates to the ninth extraordinary congress, beginning with every primary party organization up to the Central Committee. In the strict and consistent observance of the statutory principles, in the filling of its framework with concrete aspects of party initiatives and attitudes, we should perceive a supreme objective: That is the rebuilding of the strength, viability and cohesion of our party,

Presenting and recommending to the congress very important changes and addenda in the draft of the submitted statutes, the Statutory Commission expresses the conviction that the consistent observance of its norms and their proper interpretation will greatly improve the work of our party and will strengthen its Marxist-Leninist character. Therefore, I ask the congress, you esteemed comrades, delegates to examine and accept it. [applause]

Party Statute Discussion

LD200002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Excerpts] An hour ago we reported that [words indistinct] chairman of the Statute Commission to present results of the work of the group. On behalf of the Statute Commission of the congress Zdzislaw Kurowski presented the main changes in the party statute and their purpose. After the speech the chairperson of the session [not identified] presented the draft resolution of the congress concerning the electoral regulations which are to be an integral part of the statute. The party organizations and echelons must be consulted on this draft and a Statute Commission of the congress will be given powers to work it out. The final text will be presented by the Central Committee at the coming national conference of the congress delegates.

In a discussion on the method of adopting the statute and further possible discussion on its content the floor was taken by, among others, Stanislaw Kania who supported the delegates by saying that the statute, as the constitution of the party that would be valid for many years, is too important a matter to discuss the question of its approval quickly. The first secretary of the Central Committee spoke in favor of continuing the discussion right now on the statute so that today, that is, on Monday, the congress could end its deliberations. This suggestion was approved by a majority vote following a discussion.

Then the chair of the session was taken by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee. A discussion on various chapters of the draft party statute was still going on in the late hours of the night. Before midnight, during a vote, the congress approved the first chapter of the statute containing the ideological principles of the party.

REPORTAGE ON 20 JULY PZPR CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

Summary of Activities

LD202335 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Today, on the seventh and final day of the PZPR's Ninth Extraordinary Congress, the delgates accepted the PZPR draft statute after a discussion of this important document which lasted for several hours last night and into the early morning hours: 1,693 delegates voted in favor of the draft, with 38 against and 53 abstentions. During the plenary debate, which lasted many hours, the draft statute was supplemented with numerous substantial proposals and resolutions. These resolutions were aimed at achieving a correspondence between the party constitution and the general aspiration to restore Leninist norms to the functioning of the PZPR, and at guaranteeing that democratic principles would be respected in Polish life and activity.

The congress authorized the Politburo of the Central Committee to carry out a final stylistic editing of this document. The ninth congress passed a resolution that obliges the Central Committee to develop a draft of the electoral regulations based on the electoral principles contained in the statute, and to present these regulations to party echelons and organizations for consultation. The final version of the electoral regulations, which will constitute an annex to the statute, will be passed at the next national congress of delegates.

Following this, the reports from the plenary sessions of the Central Party Control Commission and the Central Auditing Commission were presented by the chairmen of these organs. During further discussion it was proposed that the discussion end and that the delegates who had registered to speak hand their speeches in for inclusion in the protocol. This proposal was adopted with a majority of votes.

The chairman of the congress Appeals Commission, Henryk Jablonski, reported that 439 matters had been directed to the commission, among them the recall of Jerzy Lukasiewicz and Zdzislaw Grudzien. Since the decision to remove Jerzy Lukasiewicz from the party was made by the congress and since the decision to expel Zdzislaw Grudzien had been confirmed by the congress, the commission identified this matter as being beyond its competence, which is tantamount to rejecting both appeals, made by Zdzislaw Grudzien and Jerzy Lukasiewicz.

Next, the chairman of the Commission of Decisions and Resolutions of the ninth extraordinary party congress, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee Hieronim Kubiak, described the manner in which the commission had worked. He made a short statement on behalf of the commission. After his speech, the congress began its consideration of the draft resolutions.

The delegates adopted the resolution on the 100th anniversary of the Polish Workers' movement and the resolution on developing a long-range program for the PZPR. During the next few weeks, the Central Committee is to appoint a special commission to develop this program.

Following this, there was a discussion of the draft of the most extensive congress document, the resolution containing the program for the development of socialist democracy, for strengthening the leading role of the PZPR in constructing socialism, and for the socioeconomic stabilization of Poland. During a lively exchange of views, several corrections were introduced into the first chapter of the resolution, which discussed the sources and nature of the crisis.

Lively discussion was also provoked by the second chapter of the programmatic resolution of the ninth extraordinary congress, "The Party of the Working Class and of the Nation: A Party of Socialist Renewal." This chapter discusses the main premises of the leading and guiding role of the PZPR, emphasizing among other things, that the fundamental precondition for getting out of the political crisis is rebuilding the PZPR's discharge of its leading role.

The activity of the party must concentrate on implementing the ideas and values of socialist ideology, equality and social justice, people's rule, rule of law, citizens' rights and freedoms, work as a source of the nation's strength and wealth, and the social security of all classes and groups in society. The second chapter of the resolution also states, among other things, that the guarantee of intraparty democracy is an activity of the supreme party authorities that is collective, open and subject to effective control from below. These authorities are the Central Committee, the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee, the Central Party Control Commission and the Central Auditing Commission. The necessity of realizing the principle of the servant status of the party apparatus with regard to the echelons and basic organizations is also stressed.

During the discussion of the third chapter of the programmatic resolution, "The Development of Socialist Democracy and Self-Government, the Strengthening of the Rule of Law in the Service of Working People," the greatest amount of controversy was stirred up by the question of appointing a state tribunal. There was a vote against including this tribunal in the resolution. Regarding the third chapter of the programmatic resolution, it is stated, among other things, that the rebuilding and fortification of confidence between society and the authorities will be able to proceed only in conditions of socialist democracy, the development of which is indispensible for the socialist political system. The PZPR is the spokesman for implemeting the idea of the people's rule, of the full participation of all citizens of the Polish People's Republic, especially the working class, in the governing of the state and the running of the national economy. This chapter also contains an entry to the effect that the congress states that the PZPR's leading role in society, its guiding role in the state, ought to be realized within the framework of a strict observance of the prevailing laws, and with the complete assurance of the constitutional role of the representative and executive organs of the people's authorities, of self-government and of administration. [sentence as heard]

Following this, the fourth chapter of the draft programmatic resolution, "The Young Generation of Socialist Poland," was presented.

Several corrections were submitted for the fifth chapter of the programmatic resolution, "Currents for Overcoming the Crisis, for Stabilizing the National Economy and Realizing the Principles of Justice."

The sixth chapter, "True Priority for Agriculture and the Improvement of the Feeding of the Nation," was adopted without any corrections.

The seventh chapter in the resolution concerns the development of culture and education, science and technical progress. The introduction to this chapter states that tasks in the area of culture, education and science have a common programmatic base of the humanistic goals of socialism. At present this demands stopping the decreased spending on culture, education and science and, in the near future, ensuring that the national budget will appreciably increase spending in these areas.

The eighth and final chapter of the programmatic resolution is "the International Activity of the Party and the State." This chapter states, among other things, that the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress confirms the basic principles of the foreign policy of the party and the state, which furthers the independence and security of the socialist fatherland, the development of the country and its international position, the cohesion between the states of the socialist community and the strengthening of world peace. The resolution (?points out) that these basic principles are friendship, brotherhood, cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and with the whole community of socialist states based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism; solidarity with the nations struggling for national liberation and social progress; and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

After several hours of discussion, during which the delegates examined the individual chapters and formulations and entered corrections and remarks, the congress adopted the draft resolution, "The Development of Socialist Democracy and the Strengthening of the Leading Role of the PZPR in the Socialist Construction and Socioeconomic Stabilization of Poland," with a vote of 1,721 in favor, 7 against and 38 abstentions.

Then the congress adopted by a majority of votes--with 32 against and 32 abstaining--the appeal from the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress to the Polish nation. In it we read, among other things:

"The fatherland is in need. A profound economic, social and political crisis torments our country. The secure existence of the nation and the future of the state are threatened. Let us repel with joint forces the danger that has hung over Poland. Today's crisis is not the result of the socialist system--quite the reverse. It is the departure from the ideological principles of socialism, from the ideas which have always guided the workers' movements, which brought misfortune down upon Poland. The blame for this is borne by people who, standing at the head of the party and the state, betrayed our ideals. The party has dispensed with them and declared its resolute support for meting out severe punishment to them. It is determined to conduct the process of bringing the guilty to account to its end. Today, however, the most important matter for the nation is to find a way out of the crisis. We appeal to all who understand the gravity of the moment. Let us stand together. Together, in the spirit of partnerly cooperation, let us embody in reality a program for repairing the state and the economy. Poland is our common home. Let us not permit anyone to destroy it. Let no one, states the resolution in conclusion, to whom the future of the socialist fatherland is dear be apart from us in this moment of historic trial."

Next the delegates approved the Central Auditing Commission's report by a majority of votes. Additional information on the current economic and political situation in Poland was presented to the delegates during today's session by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Next to take the floor was Ryszard Taraszkiewicz, chairman of the commission established by the congress presidium on 19 July to clear up the statements made about Stefan Bratkowski by Albin Siwak in his 19 July congress speech.

Stefan Bratkowski denied those statements in his telegram to the congress, and Warsaw Voivodship delegate Jacek Snopkiewicz presented the contents of the telegram to the congress. Ryszard Taraszkiewicz stated that in view of the commission's failure to find the words attributed to Stefan Bratkowski in any documents, the commission has asked Albin Siwak to explain. In a statement made to the commission, Albin Siwak says that Stefan Bratkowski's words that he had cited in his speech had been obtained from material supplied to him by four journalists who were present at Stefan Bratkowski's meeting with foreign journalists. From the material, Albin Siwak had picked out words which he thought were insulting to the congress and the delegates. Ryszard Taraszkiewica went on to state that in view of the impossibility of taking the matter any further, the commission believes that the matter should remain in the hands of both interested parties. The congress accepted the commission's declaration.

During a break in the deliberations, congress spokesman Wieslaw Bek held a news conference. Answering journalists' questions, he informed them about the discussion at the congress on the approval of the new PZPR statute. He explained that the statute passed at the congress is binding from the moment of its approval, and that the electoral regulations will be polished up and ratified by the Central Committee. These were the issues discussed at yesterday's and today's plenary sessions. Yesterday's discussion lasted late into the night.

Answering a question concerning the presence at the congress of Wsiewolod Wolczew from the Katowice Party Forum, the press spokesman stated that he had been invited by the congress' organizational committee. Wieslaw Bek categorically denied the press report that Zbigniew Iwanow was present in the congress corridors as a guest of the Torun delegation. The spokesman told the journalists of the statement made at the congress concerning the press report of Zbigniew Iwanow's alleged presence there. Wieslaw Bek denied that he was the author of that news, and said that the mistake had been made by a PAP journalist.

In the opinion of many journalists at the news conference, the comment on the alleged presence of Zbigniew Iwanow in the congress corridors came from one of the editors and in the hubbub reigning at the time, was accepted by the author of the report on the previous news conference as coming from Wieslaw Bek. PAP expresses regret at the misunderstanding which arose.

Debates Resume

LD200807 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Today at 0910 the congress resumed its plenary debate. In the chair is Stanislaw Janicki from the Gdansk Medical Academy. The discussion on the PZPR draft statute continues.

Official on Statute Changes

LD201642 Warsaw PAP in English 1523 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--Shortly after the new statute of the PUWP was adopted, member of the Presidium of the Statute Commission of the 9th PUWP Congress Aleksander Kaszowski, deputy manager of the railway stock repair plant of Bydgoszcz, characterized the main changes in the statute as follows:

"The statute has come up to the expectations as its strengthened the role of basic party links, and introduced considerably bigger rights for the party's elective organs as opposed to executive bodies. The new statute also introduced continued genuine control by voters over elective bodies, as the mandates are supposed to remain valid throughout the term of office, which means the delegates to the 9th congress will retain their mandates until the next congress."

Under the new statute, a congress can be convened upon consent from more than 50 per cent of all delegates, Kaszowski said.

Speaking of the historical aspect of the statute, Kaszowski termed as the most significant change the introduction of institutional guarantees for intra-party democracy, namely sanctioning of institutionalized warrants against distortions, which had been responsible for the crises in the past.

Jablonski Outlines Appeals

LD201206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1032 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Speech by Prof Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Appeals Commission at 20 July session of Ninth PZPR Congress in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates! I wish to report on the actions so far of the Appeals Commission of the ninth extraordinary congress, which I have the honor to chair.

Up to today, 439 appeal cases have been submitted. Of these 257 concern expulsion [wydalenie] from the party, 28 concern dismissals [skreslenie] and 25 concern party punishments; 66 concern the crediting of party probation, and 7 people request readmittance to the party. In two cases, motions are introduced for the posthumous rehabilitation of former party activists. The remainder concerns complaints and petititons on various matters, difficult to qualify.

Among the appeals there are 30 which were considered by the former congress Appeals Commission. Almost all these cases are characterized by complexity, and the need for extensive time required to examine the circumstances in individual cases going back even to the period of the occupation.

Appeals have also been submitted concerning exemption from party punishments of the past months and weeks. A comparatively large number of cases came in from Warsaw--namely 70--and from the Katowice Voivodship--51 cases. Also, even after the congress had taken the relevant decision, appeals were received concerning the expulsion from the party of former members of the Politburo Jerzy Lukaszewicz and Zdzislaw Grudzien.

Considering the fact that Jerzy Lukaszewicz was expelled from the party by the ninth congress, and that in relation to Zdzislaw Grudzien the ninth congress confirmed the expulsion resolution passed by the Katowice Party Forum, the present Appeals Commission is not competent to consider these decisions because it is only an organ of this congress, and is acting on its authorization. It cannot, therefore, in any form subject the justness of its decisions to doubt.

In connection with the preceding, the Presidium of the Appeals Commission declares that this commission could examine both of the mentioned cases only on the instruction of the congress. The absence of such an instruction will be the equivalent to rejection of the appeals by the ninth congress.

With the aim of a thorough and operative examination of all the cases under review, the Appeals Commission established the principles and procedure of its activites. It set up seven working teams, taking into account the regional division of the country, and appointed a presidium to direct and coordinate the entire work of the commission and also to ensure the universal and objective preparation of cases for examination by the teams. The manner of collecting records, essential for the explanation of cases discussed in the appeals, has been established, as well as contacts with those directly interested and the methods of the team's activities. Moreover, it has been decided that difficult and complicated cases should be examined at plenary sessions of the commission. It has also been decided that before the examination of each appeal, the views of primary party organizations and party echelons will be obtained.

The Appeals Commission will be guided in its activities by the principles and norms of the statute, by the principles which arise from the resolutions of this ninth extraordinary congress, and also by a sense of social justice.

I wish to assure the congress that discussions at the organizational sessions of the commission showed that its members are fully aware of the importance of the commitments they have undertaken, and are aware that the appeals they will be examining relate to complex human matters, and that the supreme directive for them is the good of the party. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Kubiak Speech

LD202201 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1040 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Report by Hieronim Kubiak, chairman of the congress Decisions and Resolutions Commision, member of the PZPR Politburo and Central Committee secretary, to 20 July session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--live or recorded]

[Text] Comrade delegates, I would like, on behalf of the congress Decisions and Resolutions Commission to submit first a brief report about the work methods of this commission, and then--before submitting the analysis of the decisions and resolutions--make a short statement on behalf of the commission.

Regarding the manner of work by the commission--we have worked throughout the duration of the congress, from the moment the commission was set up, in a truly hard way, covering both the proceedings of plenary sessions and the proceedings in 16 problem teams of the congress. In both cases it was a true exchange of opinions and a real struggle of arguments so that the arguments closest to our principles of ideology and most fully corresponding to the party could prevail.

An analysis has been carried out, especially of the proposals and suggestions expressed by comrades, independently of whether these suggestions have been submitted directly or in submissions to be included in the minutes of the congress. In addition use has been made of the material supplied by local party organizations and received by party authorities since August 1980. We have also utilized material contained in the theses prepared by voivodship congress teams, as well as the resolutions of voivodship and regional conferences. We have had at our disposal a very wide variety of these documents. In addition, we consulted motions and submissions received during the congress itself; all this amounted to thousands of typewritten pages.

In addition, the documents we have made available to you, comrades, make extensive use of the final documents produced by the 16 problem teams of the congress. In all those cases where these formulations have been adopted by the relevant problem teams, we tried to be as faithful as possible to the decisions adopted by comrades participating in the work of these problem teams.

The propositions which our commission has put before the congress -- particularly those contained in the decision on the program -- are of importance particularly during the period of socioeconomic stabilization and during the period of the country's emergence from the crisis. The long-term program of the party, which is commensurate with the program adopted at the unification congress, is being submitted for elaboration by a special commission and in this connection today we are submitting to you, comrades, also a draft of the relevant resolution.

I would like to apologize to you comrades, at the beginning, for the language of these documents. This language amounts to a compromise among a great many linguistic conventions, among a great many speech habits. Without any doubt this is not the language of Zeromski [prominent Polish writer] nor is it a language with adequate capabilities to express what has been conceived in the heads of authors. Nevertheless we have endeavored, on the one hand, to ensure that the language used should be easy to understand, and on the other hand, that it should be accurate.

In addition, as you, comrades, know very well certain terms and certain complex expressions have a definite meaning in our party tradition, and therefore we have tried to retain these terms in our documents. While on this subject I sincerely ask you, comrades, on behalf of the commission, not to take any notice of our linguistic failings and our shortcomings in interpretation, but especially our punctuation marks, commas and periods. I hope that above all you will take note of the content of the proposals.

The integral part of the congress resolutions which we are submitting to you will be contained in the enclosure which combines all, I repeat, all proposals, including those very detailed ones; the method of work on these proposals and their utilization in the work of the party are determined on the last page of the resolution on the program. I ask you to glance at that page, the last page of the draft resolution on the program. And the principles concerned, in addition to the terms proposed in the various parts of the resolution -- where it was necessary to use these terms--also define the general time schedule which the Decisions and Resolutions Commission proposes to the congress for a decision on the implementation of the program documents of the congress.

At the same time the Decisions and Resolutions Commission proposes that the congress should delegate the authority of the congress to the Politburo with a view to introducing any possible adjustments to these documents following the suggestions which you comrades might submit here or forward to the commission in writing. As to the latter -- should they become necessary -- I would like to ask you to formulate them in unambiguous form so that your intentions are clear.

We propose the following procedure for the adoption of these documents during today's session. We propose the following sequence: First of all the resolution on the century-long tradition of the Polish workers' movement; next the resolution on the formation of a commission for the preparation of a long-term program of the party; finally a resolution on the program, which is the longest.

In this connection I would like to add that the congress Secretariat has shown a record performance in this connection: We forwarded the document for printing at 0300 and when we contacted them at 0900 we were told that the printing [words indistinct].

We propose that in the case of each document,you should agree, comrades, to a separate spokesman presenting it on behalf of the Decisions and Resolutions Commission. In the case of the document on the century-long tradition of the Polish workers' movement it will be Comrade Marian Orzechowski, a delegate from Wroclaw; in the case of the document on the resolution on the setting up of a commission for the preparation of a long-term program of the PZPR it will be Comrade Zbigniew Kowalski, a delegate from Gdansk. In the case of the resolution on the program we propose the following spokesman on the relevant chapters of the document: chapter one dealing with the origins and the character of the crisis--Comrade Jozef [surname indistinct]; chapter two dealing with the subject, the party of the working class and the nation, the party of socialist renewal--Comrade Jan Mackiewicz, a delegate from Warsaw; chapter three dealing with the development of socialist democracy and self-government, the consolidation of law and order in the service of the working people--Comrade Wladyslaw Jonkisz, a delegate from Czestochowa; chapter four dealing with the young generation of socialist Poland--Comrade Jerzy Jaskiernia, a delegate from Krakom; chapter five dealing with directions toward overcoming the crisis and bringing about the stabilization of the country's economy and the implementation of the principles of justice--Comrade Franciszek [surname indistinct], a delegate from Wroclaw; chapter six dealing with genuine priority for agriculture and the improvement of the supply of food for the nation--Comrade Zbigniew Michalek, a delegate from Opole; chapter seven dealing with the development of culture, education, science and technical progress--Comrade Tadeusz (?Roslanowski), a delegate from Warsaw; chapter eight dealing with the international activities of the party and the state--Comrade Zdzislaw [surname indistinct], a delegate from Lodz.

I am going over now to a brief statement on behalf of the Decisions and Resolutions Commission.

Comrade delegates, we are, of course, submitting to you yet another document: It is the appeal of the congress to the Polish nation.

Comrade delegates, in editing the draft documents of the congress we have endeavored to ensure that these documents should be commensurate with every element of the name of the Polish United Workers' party; it is likely that we have not entirely succeeded in this goal. Nevertheless, we have tried to make these proposals accord with the interests of the whole party, that they should amount to a great call eminating from this hall and urging the unity of the party, so that--in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism--there should not be after the congress any division between those who have won the elections and those who have lost the elections. The whole party has won here. [applause]

Therefore on behalf of the Decisions and Resolutions Commission we call upon the whole party to carry out together the decisions which the ninth extraordinary congress will adopt at this session. On behalf of the commission we would also like to state that in our opinion there have been enough disputes, both regional or otherwise described. The party is one, and after this congress it will have one program and one leadership produced by this congress. We shall oppose anybody who forgets this. [applause]

Now, after the congress it is becoming necessary to be honest in the implementation of the decisions adopted, to do honest work [words indistinct]. The congress--in the opinion of our commission--restores initiative to the party, restores the ethics of our sociopolitical system.

(?At the end of our session) we have the right to call upon all the members of the party, all Poles, from now on, to couple the renewed ethics of the sociopolitical system with everyday individual work ethics. [applause]

The draft documents of the congress which we are now submitting to you, comrades, are against factional interests of professional groups, industrial branch groups, regional groups--against any form of factional interests. After the congress a climate of opinion must prevail in which we ask what more can we give to others, thus achieving more for ourselves. To the demands for special rights--whether they are concerned with wages, social issues (?or others), rights achieved at the expense of others, to such activities aimed at the furthering of priorities for factional interests--we, from this congress, answer, all of us: Enough! [applause]

The proposals submitted to you, comrade delegates, by the commission prove in the opinion of the commission, the loyalty of our party to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, tested in the history of the international workers' movement, as well as to Lenin's principles of the model of a workers' party. They constitute, at the same time, an urgent and unambiguous statement in favor of the consolidation of the fraternal alliance of the socialist parties, nations and states, in favor of the strengthening of our ideological and state alliance with the USSR and with the Communist Party of the Soviet peoples. [applause]

To conclude, while editing the draft documents submitted to the congress, the commission has tried carefully to base the content of these documents on the lasting values of our national culture, on its leftwing tradition, on the stance of our national identity and the continuity of the history of Poles. [applause]

Comrade Chairman, on behalf of the commission I ask you to present to the congress the draft documents on the program for analysis and acceptance.

Resolutions Adopted

LD201453 Warsaw PAP in English 1207 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Item intercepted in progress]

[Excerpt] [dateline not received] Marian Orzechowski, professor at Wrocław University, presented the draft resolution on the "centenary of the Polish working class movement." The congress delegates approved the resolution with one abstention.

Zbigniew Kowalski, lecturer from Gdansk Institute of Technology, submitted to the congress the main guidelines on elaboration of the PUWP long-range programme. The draft states, among other things, that elaboration of the programme is the indispensable condition of the party's living up to the tasks arising from a new period of social development.

The programme should formulate the aims of socialist construction in Poland, outline the long-term directions of socio-economic development and the socialist democracy system, determine the party tasks and the ways by which it will perform its leading role in the society.

By this resolution, the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress puts the newly elected Central Committee under the obligation to appoint within the next few weeks a commission for elaborating a draft long-range PUWP programme. In its work on the draft the commission will take into account the results of party and nationwide discussion held before and during the 9th congress.

After a discussion which helped to work out certain more precise definations, the congress approved the resolution with 6 votes against and 2 abstentions.

Programmatic Resolution Vote

LD201508 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--The 9th extraordinary congress has passed a programmatic resolution "on the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the leading role of the PUWP in the building of socialism and in the socio-economic stabilization of the country."

1,721 delegates voted the resolution, 7 opposed it and 30 abstained.

Appeal to Nation Adopted

LD201510 Warsaw PAP in English 1431 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--The 9th extraordinary congress has adopted an appeal of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party to the Polish nation, the vote being 32 against and 32 abstained.

Appeal to Nation Published

LD210900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Press review]

[Text] Today's papers publish the appeal of the ninth congress to the Polish nation. I will read it for you now in full:

Fellow-countrymen! The homeland is in need. A profound economic, social and political crisis is tormenting our country. There is danger to the secure existence of the nation and to the future of the state. Let us join forces to avert the danger which hangs over Poland.

Today's crisis is not a result of the socialist system. On the contrary, it is the departure from the ideological precepts of socialism, from the ideas which have always guided the workers' movement, that have brought disaster to Poland. Those responsible for this are men who, while standing at the helm of the party and the state, betrayed the ideals they voiced. The party is getting rid of them. It is determined to continue to the end the process of bringing to account those responsible.

We ourselves speak sharply and rigidly about the errors and guilt which have been committed by the party. From this we draw conclusions. Never again will the leadership of the party and the state be allowed to tear itself from its base, the working class, from all the workers. Never again will it be allowed to squander the toil of the Polish workers, farmer, member of the intelligentsia.

Today, however, the most urgent issue for the nation is to find a way out of the crisis. We must look ahead. We must not allow the consideration of past evil to paralyze the will and ability of our action.

Bearing in mind our painful experiences, we must remember above all the achievements of the 37 years of People's Poland. These achievements consist, first of all, of the rebuilding of an independent state and the ensuring of peaceful life for it; the creation for Poland of secure, durable and just borders; reconstruction of the national economy after unprecendented war devastation and the guaranteeing for it of great progress; the development and promotion of education, science and national culture; the creation for workers and peasants of conditions for a mass social advancement; the education of a new, numerous, well qualified people's intelligentsia.

These achievements would not exist if the nation had not translated into life the program presented to Poland in memorable July 1944 by the camp of people's democracy headed by the Polish Workers' Party and the revived Polish Socialist Party. If we were able then to raise Poland, we shall be able--working together--to extricate it from the current crisis.

Only a Marxist-Leninist party is capable of guaranteeing the success of socialist renewal and the implementation of the line of social agreement, of ensuring lasting security of the state and the sovereign existence of the nation. The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress must become a turning point in the struggle for a way out of the crisis. During the report-back and election campaign and at the congress, we have revived the party, we have restored democracy to its internal life and we have elected new party authorities composed of men dedicated to the cause of reconstruction of the republic.

We have defined the targets for today and for tomorrow. We know what we are fighting for and what we are fighting against. We will consolidate the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The alliance of free and equal nations and states standing guard over peace in the world, we see in the guarantee of Poland's sovereignty.

We will strive to achieve economic equilibrium, to halt its decline, to restore its capability for growth as early as in the next year. We will, at the same time, ensure that the sacrifices and denials which we must make in order to overcome the crisis are apportioned justly and, in particular, that the living standards of families with the lowest incomes are protected.

We will introduce such a reform of the economy as will eliminate the squandering of forces and means, as will provide the conditions for sensible management, as will allow a broad development of workers' self-government in all areas of economic and social life.

We will create conditions for such an accelerated development of agriculture and for the civilizational advancement of rural people thus ensuring an abundance of food for Poland. We will justly share all that we jointly produce, so that work alone will constitute the foundation of prosperity, so that no one is allowed to live by the work of others.

We will fight for the development of democracy in the state, so that the authorities of our state at all levels will be genuinely appointed and controlled by the nation. We want the state to be powerful by support from the community, enjoying prestige and trust, ensuring law and order and the safety of citizens.

We are fighting for prospects for the young generation, so that when entering life it will have an open road for service to the homeland and fair conditions for starting life. We are beginning a struggle to halt degradation of man's natural environment, to restore to it the vivifying values, for the purity of the waters and the air. As a special obligation toward the nation at this stage, we consider the improvement of health care conditions, care for the mother and child, the creation of worthy conditions for old age, especially for the generation which has behind it the years of struggle and hard toil for Poland.

We are fighting to broaden the rights of Polish women, for their genuine equality in all spheres of life, for an easing of their tough duties of today. We will create conditions for the development of education, culture and of Polish science, equal to the gifts of Poland in the world.

In the decisions of the ninth congress we define the means leading to the implementation of these tasks. Their achievement calls for a struggle against all that hampers our socialist progress. We are fighting against economic disintegration, chaos, inertia and helplessness, wherever they emerge.

We are fighting against bureaucracy in our lives, against conservative attitudes which hamper our development.

We are fighting against anarchy, against all those who try to disrupt our state, to weaken and paralyze it. We are fighting against the egoism of those groups which, regardless of the general interest, unscrupulously strive to seize excessive benefits.

We are fighting against those who would like to turn Poland from the road to socialism, to alienate it from our allies, and particularly from the Soviet Union, against those who in this respect are ready to play with the security and the future of the nation. We must win this struggle. We shall win it only by means of a broad alliance between the working class, the peasant class and the intelligentsia; in an alliance of all the patriotic forces of our nation. This is a class alliance. Its nucleus is the working class, especially the work forces of the great enterprises. At the same time, it is a national alliance since there is a place in it for all Poles: for believers and unbelievers, for people of all professions, all generations, for everyone who does not want merely to observe the crisis tormenting the homeland.

In the creation of such an alliance in everyday action, we appeal to all. Let us create a community of actions for the cause of the economy and the state, for the cause of democracy in accordance with our best traditions. We shall create this community of actions together with the allied parties. We wish to create it jointly with all trade unions. There is an important place in it for believers and the clergy. There is a place in this community for all patriots. The good of the republic is and must be the supreme cause.

We appeal to all who understand the gravity of the moment. Let us stand together. Together, in the spirit of partnership and cooperation, let us implement the program for reconstruction of the state and the economy. Poland is our common home; let us allow no one to destroy it.

Today, the test of patriotism is action. We must prove by action that the good of Poland is the most important issue for us. The nation's action for its homeland, the action to which the PZPR is calling, we shall victoriously decide the struggle for a future worthy of our dreams and wishes, for a safe and successful future of Poland. Let no one to whom the future of the socialist homeland is dear fail to be with us at this moment of historical trial.

Kania Closing Speech

LD201530 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1425 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at 20 July closing session of Ninth Extradordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw--live or recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, delegates! The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is nearing its end. In a few moments we will leave this hall and rejoin our comrades at work, in the party organizations, and our families. We will leave this hall with the feeling of a duty well discharged, convinced this was a good congress which served the party well. [applause]

We will leave with this conviction as party workers, and party activists, but we stayed in our debating chamber also as people. An activist is also a human being. Cordial ties of friendship have been established between us; let us cultivate them. The importance of the congress will no doubt be evaluated by history. Today we can say one thing: It was a congress of our party of great responsibility for Poland, for socialism.

As from tomorrow, we will start to write with our actions new pages of history--the first pages of post-congress activity. Let us bear in mind that in life, in assessing the value of all programs, only deeds count, only facts count. Let our congress therefore open pages of creative, effective actions designed to master the difficulties, to master our Polish poverty in order to come to the straight path.

We can tell our party that from the very first hours of the congress debate until the last minutes of the congress debate we have expressed the will of our party. That is why the congress has used such sensitivity and rigidity when evaluating the past, the mechanisms and persons responsible for our crisis.

That is why the will of the congress to establish effective guarantees which would protect the party and Poland from further upheavals was so great. We bring the party a program for building its cohesion and usefulness in the community. We can declare to the working class, to the Polish nation, and to Poland, that we conducted the entire session bearing in mind the establishing of guarantees of the homeland's independence. They are closely linked with socialism and with the overcoming of our crisis. This is why, during the session, we gave meaning to the leading slogan of our congress that socialism should be defended as much as the independence of Poland is defended. [applause]

We can declare with full conviction to our allies, the representatives of whom are present at our congress, that everyone who has listened to our debates penetratingly and objectively must admit that this congress has not left a shadow of doubt that our party wants to, and can, ensure that Poland is and will be an unbreakable ally of the Soviet Union and an unbreakable link in the socialist community. [applause]

Dear comrades, convey this will of ours to your parties and nations. I thank you, on behalf of the congress, for your participation in its session. We send our best greetings and wishes to our comrades from the Communst Party of the Soviet Union and from the other fraternal parties. [applause]

Our congress addresses its thoughts and words to the nations of our continent, to Europe, and to the nations of the world. There is no stable situation in Europe without the stabilization of the situation in Poland. Our party is the leading force of the nation and the leading force of the socialist state. This party desires the stabilization of the Polish situation. It wants to be an active participant in the process of detente and in international cooperation.

The congress grew from the great debate held in our party. I think that it has not finished, but with its resolutions it has prejudged the most important threads of this discussion. It has defined the sources of mistakes and deformations of the past period; it has defined the responsibility for these mistakes. It has created the conditions so that they can become a warning, so that they should at last cease having a bearing on our activity. Our congress has made it possible to turn without reservations to the future, to our tasks, to the functions and duties of our party. The congress was a debate on the method of our party's functioning, of a return to Leninist norms, of the strengthening of democratic mechanisms, and the strengthening of centralism purged of the former degenerations.

In deciding these important questions, in a spirit conforming to the will of the membership masses, our congress has made it possible to direct further discussions in the party on to the paths which most correspond to the needs of the country, on how to come out of the crisis, how to carry out the normalization of relations in Poland, and how to direct the country on to a road of successful development.

The ninth congress was characterized by an unusual atmosphere. This was expressed in the democratic, heated, and very often critical, discussions. Many bitter words were spoken. Nevertheless, the debates in the plenary sessions and in the problem teams, were characterized in general by a sense of responsibility for the party and for the fate of the country, by a deep concern for Poland and socialism.

We confirmed unequivocally and unanimously the ideological face of our party as a Marxist-Leninist party. The attempts to undermine its character seen precisely as a Marxist-Leninist party, which appeared--although rarely, it is true--in the precongress discussion, met with a firm rebuff; and this is good, for this will strengthen our party. [applause]

We are the supreme authority of the party. There is no higher addressee for our resolutions. Now, the responsibility is extended to all without exception: from party members who have no post, to the first secretary of the Central Committee. I am aware of this great, and also personal, responsibility. I express the conviction that our congress fulfilled the party's expectations, politically justified expectations, morally just and progammatically realistic.

We sensed in this hall a great determination, that we must never lapse on to the path of contradicting the ideas of socialism. That is our aim. But at the same time, it is the measure of the agreement of actions and words. Real socialism is not and will certainly never be ideal. It is not and cannot be an absolute good. That is not a justification, it is the undertaking of an obligation. Ideal socialism must continue to exist perpetually in our struggle, and in our attitudes. Only in this way will successive generations defend fundamental values, change society in the name of these values, and create new ideological values.

The congress elected new supreme central authorities. They contain representatives of all social circles in our society. The great service of the congress is to have appointed a larger representation of workers and peasants to the authorities than ever before in history. This corresponds to their historic and political role in the life of the nation. Today, workers and peasants represent a majority in the composition of the Central Committee. [loud and long applause] Some comrades say give it the name of worker-peasant-army Central Committee. [applause]

In democratic elections, the congress elected more of our comrades-in-uniform than ever before. This is a testimony of confidence in the comrades in our Armed Forces, a testimony of the conviction that in our difficult situation the ideological training [kondyoua] and combat readiness of our Armed Forces constitute a great value, in the name of the defense of Poland's independence, and in the name of the defense of socialism. [applause] The worker-peasant character of the Central Committee must be proved in practice. We should testify with deeds that we wish to serve the worker's and the peasant's cause as well as possible. [applause]

At the congress we adopted a program and a changed party statute. They constitute the results of many months of almost general discussion in the party and in society, and try to ensure that the statute and the constitution of our party represent and create unfailing guarantees which will protect the party from degenerations.

What is the basic idea of the decisions of the congress? We must be consistent, we must continue to be the party of socialist renewal, and at the same time we must be a party of struggle against the enemies of socialism, against anarchy, against the counterrevolutionary threat in Poland. [applause] To disparage and play down this threat would be the greatest and most tragic error by the party for the nation and the state today when we are talking so much about guarantees to forestall further errors.

This is not a warning, this is, above all, an appeal to the whole party, to all the forces of common sense and partiotic responsibility. It is necessary, at long last, to cease all activities which expose our state, our authorities and our party to any trial of strength, or to any dangerous confrontation. We are not building any hopes on confrontation. Let no one dare to build such hopes. [applause] It is not currently a question of new concessions on wages or on social issues; such decisions were, are, and will be made by the state in accord with the trade unions whenever the state of the national economy makes such decisions possible. The main issue currently is the establishment of law and order, the condemnation of and the struggle against foreign forces which are increasing tension, using demagogy and disinformation and attempting to establish authority both alongside the authority and against the authority. This state of affairs cannot be continued in Poland without Poland being threatened. [applause]

This is why our congress' support for our premier, Army Gen Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, has sounded with such might. Our nation has paid to history its share of captivity and bad fortune, all its share of suffering and destruction, military campaigns, national uprisings, political emigrations and wandering abroad in search of employment. The time came--after the last war, in People's Poland--to establish forever a normal life for our nation among other nations. Our congress has reconfirmed this will. It has confirmed this will both in that which must be changed and reformed inside Poland and in that which must be confirmed as immutable, that which is connected with the socialist character of our country.

We have adopted at the congress a resolution confirming our ideological traditions--the 100th anniversary of the Polish Workers' movement. We have elected to the Central Committee a group of veterans of the revolutionary movement. This has a symbolic significance. Our party is the heir of the entire revolutionary workers' tradition. From its dawn, our revolutionary movement developed in close connection with the revolutionary movement of Russia; history established the common destiny of our countries. I remember, years ago, my stay in distant Siberia, in (?Shushinskoye), a place of exile for Polish and Russian revolutionaries. There, in that small locality, next to the house where Lenin spent his exile was the house of the Polish revolutionary from Lodz, Jan Prominski. These were two very close friends--the leader of the Russian revolution and a simple Polish worker, a Polish revolutionary. This symbolically expresses the depth of the community of our destinies.

All nations will come to socialism. Each will find his own path in this march, said Lenin. There is strength in this, the greatest strength of Marxism-Leninism: one universal objective implemented and enriched by all nations in accordance with their best traditions and values.

Comrades, let us do everything so that our new generations, in particular, should return to the sources of People's Poland, to the roots of socialism growing from so deep inside our national tradition.

Comrade delegates! The discussion, our program and the election of new authorities constitute the unequivocal endorsement of the line, adopted by our party, of socialist renewal, which--as we often stress--has no reasonable alternative.

Millions of people following our deliberations, members of the party gathering in their primary organizations and party committees, reacted in a lively manner to what was going on at the congress. They supported their delegates and applauded or criticized individual speeches. However, everyone was able to convice himself that our party is a party of critical dissatisfaction and that it has the will for renewal. We wish to remain just such a party, and we shall. [applause]

The new statute which our congress has passed states the deep democratization of the ways in which the party and all its authorities function. The statute creates the guarantees that party members will never again lose a dominant influence on the policy of the party. The new statutory decisions are an important measure against any attempts whatsoever by leaders to break away from the party masses, to become alienated and to act contrary to the will of the majority. Broad internal party democratization, understood in the Leninist manner, is from now on not only a statutory rule but also a living practice in our party. Our deliberations and elections have convincingly demonstrated this.

We shall be consistent guards, ensuring that words and deeds go together. This will mean realistic clear-sightedness in the formulation of programs and uncompromising exactingness in the implementation of the duties which we take upon ourselves.

This is the posture we wish to occupy as a Central Committee, as a Politburo, and this is how I would like to remain in day to day work as party secretary. [as heard] This is the duty of party members who fulfill civic and state duties in all links of the state and society.

We shall remain a party of struggle for a direction of social society which ensures that socialist justice remains this society's inviolable principle, justice which is the main value of our ideology and our practice. In this sense, we as a party shall strengthen our historical, political and moral personality.

In a Marxist-Leninist party there is only room for one party--for the party of people who are joined and united by common views on the fundamental lines of our internal and international policy. In our resolutions, the principles of intraparty life have been renewed which will be based on freedom of discussion and unity of action, on the democratic manner of making decisions and on discipline in implementing such decisions, on the Marxist-Leninist structure of centralism and democracy. Such a party, and only such a party, will be capable of continuing the policy of social accord, the policy of socialist renewal and the fight against the opponents of our system, the fight for establishing a lasting social peace, for social security and a stable everyday life--in an independent Poland. This is not only a national need of the highest order, but also the need of every single inhabitant of the Polish land.

We reaffirm the will to develop a democracy guaranteed by good laws; however, in democracy alone, you cannot live for long if there is continued chaos in the state, disorganization of the national economy, and economic crisis. This state of affairs, in the long run, constitutes the greatest threat to democracy and the greatest threat to civic freedoms. This is why we reaffirm before the whole nation the need for large-scale accord, for a large-scale alliance of the forces of civic responsibility for Poland, its destiny and its nation. We do not wish, as a party, to have a monopoly of best intentions. We regard highly all the motives which engender such a responsibility, all intentions--regardless of the convictions of conscience, faith or philosophy. We reaffirm the basic structure of the state system in Poland, which is the multiparty system of political alliance between the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

We are opening the way to the strengthening of the functions of the trade unions as representatives of the workers' interests, independent of the administration, and as partners in the accord--the accord aimed at extricating the country from the crisis and reconstructing the country's capabilities for development. With satisfaction, we welcome the active role of the lay Catholic organizations and the Christian organizations in the life of the state and the community, and the cooperation of the church with the state, strengthened on the basis of constructive foundations.

The broad front of responsibility for People's Poland is in the interest of independent Poland. Comrade delegates, there is no need now for traditional appeals--the congress is over. We shall go to work. This results in an obvious way from the discussions, from the resolutions, and above all from the realistic situation. The delegates to the extraordinary congress, preserving after the closing of the session their mandates and the rights which go along with them, create an additional guarantee that the party will control its central bodies; the guarantee that the congress resolutions will be implemented and that actions will follow the line mapped out by the congress. This cannot and should not in any way limit the statutory rights of the newly elected authorities of party leadership.

The country's difficult situation and the difficult tasks mapped out in the resolutions of our congress, create a particular need for efficient leadership and decisive policy.

Esteemed comrade delegates. Outside the doors of this hall which we shall leave in a moment, there is an exceptionally difficult reality as the country finds itself in a dramatic situation. Its most aggravated manifestation at present is a shortage of basic market goods and the social dissatisfaction caused by the shortages. We are in danger of conflicts, which regardless of the difficult situation of the country, are caused by those who have a stake in existence of tension, those who dislike the line of accord confirmed by our congress with all its might. We must cope with this situation. The extraordinary congress equipped us with a clear program, defining the priorities in socioeconomic policy.

After the congress we want a great movement to streamline work and to develop the country everywhere that it is essential and possible to do so, even in places with the greatest objective difficulties. We appealto all those who have not yet exhausted the possibilities of improving their situations. in their own factories, in their own milieus. This is not an order it is a necessity. It is not an appeal from the top, but a responsibility at the bottom. We believe that there may arise a great strength of good will which will reject disbelief and restore faith in our possibilities.

Comrades! Our congress has confirmed the inviolability and unchangeability of our foreign policy, our allied treaties and our friendly relations. The alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union remains the cornerstone of Polish foreign policy, of national foreign policy. This alliance is established on all principles, each of which lies in the interest of an independent and a secure Poland inside the present frontiers. The most enlightened minds in our history assumed as natural the problem of mutual friendly relations between the Polish and the Russian nations, between Polish and Russian revolutionaries. After the creation of People's Poland, this idea was supplemented by the alliance between our states, and by brotherhood-in-arms between our armies. The strongest foundation of that alliance is the ideological community of our parties, the community of national interests in building a peaceful Europe and a secure world. Therefore we remain unchangeably in this Polish orientation; it is the only sensible, politically wise and ideologically inviolable one. [applause]

We confirm our active presence in the entire socialist community: in economic, scientific cultural cooperation with the CEMA countries. We will remain an inviolable link in the Warsaw Pact and its political and defense content. We will continue a policy of cooperation in our relations with all countries with different social systems, in the interests of detente and for the cause of peace.

Dear comrades! We return from our congress convinced that the party discussion has yielded great fruit; it has borne results of absolutely historic import. However, even the most lively and profound discussions dominated to the phase of effective action which our situation demands. Only a renewal of work can lift Poland out of the crisis. Otherwise, history will call us the people who talked Poland to death.

The most important tasks which both the party and the government authorities must cope with have been defined in the report of the Central Committee and in the speech of the premier, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski: They have been defined in the congress resolutions. However, these are not tasks which can be dealt with only by the supreme authorities. Those tasks also confront the voivodship, countryside, and parish authorities, the organizers of collective toil of all kinds and levels. Without their work, without their inventiveness and independence, without their resourcefulness and enthusiasm, without this the efforts of the party and government leadership will come to nothing. So don't wait for what Warsaw will suggest. Recommend and establish. You have a party and social mandate and considerable scope for your independence. I am convinced that at this moment, the most difficult for the people's state, our entire aktiv will show the highest militancy.

We call upon all members of the party to closely observe the statute elaborated by the whole party, and passed by the congress. Our main privilege, comrades, is shouldering the enormous tasks, tasks which must be lifted by the party since no one else can manage. Lifting these weights is required for the good of the homeland which is in need, in great need.

Ours is a large party. And despite the fact that many have left its ranks, it has at its disposal sufficient forces, a new aktiv. It has a lot of enthusiasm and the mood to change our situation, to tear the country out of the difficulties. Let us turn all of our energy to the needs of the immediate future.

It is imperative to remember about the past, from it we draw wisdom; but above all, concentrating all of our efforts on what lies ahead is what counts!

Before the close of the congress, I ask that we convey to all former members of the Central Committee and the party leadership who have not been elected--for after all they remain with us as participants in our great responsibility for the affairs of Poland--that despite the various causes and the fact that I stressed the need for the critical evaluation of the composition of the Central Committee which stood before you, comrades, at the ninth extraordinary congress of the party, it must be said to their credit and honor and it must be admitted that it was precisely this Central Committee which brought about the fact that the most dangerous crises--the crisis which emerged in People's Poland, the strike conflicts--were solved by methods of agreement.

It is to the credit of this Central Committee that it led the party onto the path of socialist renewal. This will remain the undeniable credit of the Central Committee. [applause] I thank in particular the former members of the Politburo and Secretariat and comrades who, although they did not get into the composition of the authorities, I believe will continue to do active work in our party. We are counting on this a great deal.

Our congress did not elect many first secretaries of voivodship committees although they stood for election to the authorities, to the supreme party authorities. I think that one can say with full conviction--and I would like to say this on your behalf, comrades, this is how I interpret it--that this was not an expression of a personal evaluation of these comrades. After all, in the elections they were conferred with the greatest trust--in democratic elections--by being appointed to party functions and by being entrusted with mandates of congress delegates. This stand of the congress, which was expressed in voting, was based on the concern that there should be fewer party workers but more social activists, particularly workers [applause begins] in the composition of the Central Committee. [applause continues]

Thus, these comrades can and ought to fulfill their functions in the conviction that the voivodship party organizations have confidence in them. [applause]

The congress is winding up its deliberations on the eve of the holiday of Poland's rebirth, the anniversary of the July manifesto. This portended a Poland ruled by the people, by working people, who assumed power in order to implement the struggle, which had been going on for decades, for the ideals of socialism and for social justice. Recalling on this occasion the beginnings of People's Poland we see in the full clarity that the implementation of socialist ideals--the most beautiful ideals which the world's most recent history has given birth to--depends on whether the forces of progress control their own state, and whether they command in it the power needed to realize these ideals. We must protect the people's power and the people's state as the most important instrument through which socialism is fulfilled and developed.

Allow me to thank on behalf of the whole congress our guests, representatives of fraternal parties, for their participation and for the valuable thoughts conveyed on behalf of their parties and also for their patience during our long deliberations. They will have to pardon certain organizationsl shortcomings which in any case they viewed with great forbearance. This, too, is the price of democracy [applause], democracy which is needed. [applause continues]

I thank, comrades, on your behalf, all those who contributed to guaranteeing that there were the necessary conditions and to organizing the congress; I thank the comrades of the Secretariat and of the attending personnel. I thank the comrades from the press, radio and television for the great work they have done by giving reports to the public about our deliberations. We expect [applause] that our comrades will convey the full achievements of the congress in an objective and creative manner in the mass media.

I would also like to thank all those correspondents of the foreign press who have been informing their readers and listeners about what has been going on at our congress in an objective and honest manner.

Our party is, comrades, the hope of Poland. This is good for Poland. During the discussion on the statute it was demanded that the Central Committee should clearly define the text and melody of our party hymn, the Internationale. These words do in fact sound differently in the way they are sung at various meetings. The matter of whether we shall or whether we are already setting the globe in motion remains something that still has to be decided.

It would be difficult for the party secretary to make some sort of statement on the matter of the melody. But the words which express our conviction are clear: We are setting the globe in motion, we are setting the Polish part of this globe in motion toward socialism, toward the security and prosperity of our nation. I am convinced that after hardships sunny days will return to our native country, to Poland, that they will return because we have chosen the socialist path of development and that our party is the leading force in this effort. I thank you comrade delegates [applause] for taking part in the congress. [applause continues]

I declare the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party closed. [thunderous applause]

Close of PZPR Congress Reported

LD202318 Warsaw PAP in English 2254 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--After seven days of debates the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP has wound up today. The congress has severely reckoned with the people guilty vis-a-vis the nation and the party. In the most democratic elections in the history of the party it has awarded mandates to members of the supreme authorities.

CONGRESS COMMISSIONS ANNOUNCE PRESIDIUM ELECTIONS

Party Control Commission

LD201140 Warsaw PAP in English 1112 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--Election results to the Praesidium of the Central Party Control Commission were announced today. The 90-strong commission was elected by the 9th PUWP Congress. Out of 19 candidates the following Praesidium members were elected in secret ballot:

Wladyslaw Beben--officer of the Polish Army,

Alojzy Gorzawski--senior foreman at Debiensko colliery in Leszczyny, Katowice Voivodship,

Stanislaw Grabania--driver at rural transport cooperative in Krakow,

Jan Klopotowski--first secretary of the PUWP repair shipyard committee in Gdansk,

General Henryk Kondas--deputy commander of the Pomeranian Military Region,

Grazyna Kotnowska--director of the 31st general education secondary school in Lodz,

Halina Lawniczak--head of economic section of the voivodship blood donor station in Kalisz,

General Ryszard Milczarek [no further identification received],

Tadeusz Nowicki--first secretary of the PUWP town committee in Pionki, Radom Voivodship,

Jerzy Szymanik--voivodship prosecutor in Suwalki,

Stanislaw Woloszyn--director of the "Zapel" electrotechnical porcelain factory in Boguchwala, Rzeszow Voivodship,

Marian Wojcik--pensioner, delegate of Bielsko Voivodship.

As earlier reported, on the recommendation of the First Secretary of the PUWP CC Stanislaw Kania, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission Jerzy Urbanski is also member of the Praesidium.

As its first task the CPCC Praesidium will discuss directions of the commission's work in the light of resolutions of the 9th PUWP Congress. It will also adopt work regulations. Wladyslaw Beben and Grazyna Kotnowska will serve as vice-chairmen of the Central Party Control Commission without pay.

Central Auditing Commission

LD201330 Warsaw PAP in English 1230 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--During the first plenary session today of the 70-strong PUWP Central Audit Commission a presidium of the commission was elected. Members of the commission presidium are: Tomasz Afeltowics--lecturer of Wroclaw University, chairman of the Polish Society of Economics, Stanislaw Blezien, chief specialist at "Stomil" factory in Debica, Tarnow Voivodship, Stanislaw Brewinska, work [words indistinct] wool factory in Zagan, Zielona Gora Voivodship; Henryk Dobrowolski, director of Syrena shoe factory in Mlawa, Ciechanow Voivodship; Eugeniusz Dobrzynski, headmaster of secondary school at Kryyz, Pila Voivodship; Tadeusz Ferc, manager of co-operative farm at Raclawice Slaskie, Opole Voivodship; Jan Gawel, pensioner from Lowicz, Skierniewice Voivodship;
General Wladyslaw Honkisz, deputy chief of the Polish Army Main Political Board;
Stanislaw Majchrzak, first secretary of PUWP town committee in Sierpc, Plock Voivodship; Cecylia Sikorska, quality controller at the cellulose and pulp plant in Wlocawek; Waclaw Skoczylas, first secretary of PUWP committee at militia headquarters; Zdzislaw Stepien, technician at navy shipyard in Gdynia; Marian Stoklosa, first secretary of rural commune PUWP committee at Kocmyrzow-Luborzyca, Krakow Voivodship; Jacek Trojanek, head of department at Poznan University.

As we reported earlier, Kazimierz Morawski was elected chairman of the Central Audit Commission.

BEK, TORUN DELEGATION ISSUE STATEMENTS ON IWANOW

LD201055 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Here is a statement by Comrade Wieslaw Bek, press spokesman of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. A PAP report published in today's papers on yesterday's press conference with representatives of the national press contains the statement. Wieslaw Bek also explained that Zbigniew Iwanow, who is attending the congress, is the guest of the Torun delegation. But he was unable to say who invited the representatives from the Katowice Party Forum: I state before the congress that as regards the question by one of the journalists about the presence of Iwanow at the congress, I said I would establish whether or not this piece of news is true. Thus, it is not true that I confirmed his presence, even less who invited him. I demand a public clarification and the initiation of proceedings by the Central Party Control Commission.

Now a statement by the Torun delegation: On behalf of the delegates of Torun Voivodship, I state that the following invited guests from Torun Voivodship are taking part in the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress: Comrade (Kujakowski), chairman of the voivodship People's Council, and Comrade (Modrzynski), first secretary of the Torun City PZPR (?Committee), I state that no person from the Torun delegation has seen Iwanow, and the delegates from Torun Voivodship consider the report given in the press as a piece of provocation.

[Signed] (Edwin Puchala), secretary of the Torun Voivodship Committee.

CONGRESS DELEGATES APPEAL FOR END TO STRIKES

LD201334 Warsaw PAP in English 1010 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--During last Sunday's and Saturday's plenary discussions at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress, the delegates often used the right to replies and questions.

Zygmunt Kaminski, delegate of Katowice Voivodship, an engineer in the "1 May" mine in Wodzislaw, after hearing the premier's speech appealed to the authorities to vigorously oppose any attempts at strike blackmail for insignificant reasons. "At last we should stop tolerating unpunished attacks on the authorities, attacks that are unfounded and unjust," said the delegate.

Slawomir Orzechowski, farmer from Kroszczyno in Biala Podlaska Voivodship, referring to the premier's speech appealed to the employees of Polish Airlines LOT and the dockers to refrain from strikes and protests, and thus to show their understanding of the difficult situation of the country and their good will to seek a platform of agreement without the threat of social unrest.

GDANSK COASTAL REGION REACTION TO CONGRESS

LD201624 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Gdansk-Gydnia [date line as received]--The congress debates, particularly the elections of the new supreme party authorities, are still at the center of interest [words indistinct] at the Gdansk coast.

The election of Stanislaw Kania as first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee has met with general approval. It is considered that the new party authorities together with the government led by Premier Jaruzelski, are capable of leading the country out of the impasse. Such a conviction runs through the majority of conversations.

Nevertheless, it is also possible to sense in them a certain disappointment connected with the too small--in the opinion of some--representation of the Gdansk coast in the central authorities, even considering that in the Politburo there is Jan Labecki first secretary of the PZPR Works Committee of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk.

These opinions are best expressed by the statement of engineer Stanislaw Kubic, MA, second secretary of the PZPR school committee of the Gdansk Polytechnic: It can be assumed that the electoral decisions were swayed by the will to renew the composition of the Central Committee, and also by the delegates' attitude to the number of functions fulfilled [word indistinct].

The Gdansk party circles which contributed so much to the preparations for the congress over the last period, is conscious of having been left in the background. I consider that this was a mistake because it could be misconstrued. The speech by Tadeusz Fiszbach at the congress contributed much significance to the debates. It is a pity it was not delivered earlier; the author would then have become better known to the delegates.

CORRECTIONS TO PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE LIST

The following corrections to the item entitled "Reportage on July 17 PZPR Congress Proceedings" and subtitled "Central Committee List," published in the 20 July Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page G 9, were taken from TRYBUNA LUDU of 18-19 July, thus providing the TRYBUNA LUDU spelling for some of the names:

In alphabetical order, correct the names as follows:

Central Committee Members: Marian Arendt, Ireneusz Babelek, Edmund Baczkiewicz, Henryk Domzal, Wladyslaw Fidzinski, Zdzislawa Gebska, Wlodzimierz Giler, Zbigniew Hanff, Andrzej Hoffman, Zbigniew Huss, Jozef Jakubiec, Tadeusz Jemiolo, Genowefa Kusmierek, Jerzy Lelental, Maciej Lubczynski, Witold Lasisz, Anna Marciniak, Marek Morzyszek, Marek Pabjan, Jozef Serwinski, Jeremiasz Sitek, Teodor Subolek, Jan Sufleta, Zbigniew Szadkowski, Kazimierz Szepelak, Romuald Szwengler, Michal Tarczynski, Tadeusz Walichnowski, Jozef Zimnicki.

Central Committee Candidate Members: Jadwiga Dywicka, Boleslaw Faron, Teresa Gawecka, Janusz Janczewski, Adam Juszczyk, Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, Jan Plociniczak, Barbara Rogala, Mierczyslaw Sobkiewicz, Antoni Szybist, Tadeusz Tuczapski, Zdzislaw Wasniowski, Jan Witt, Zenobia Zurawska.

PAP REPORTS PZPR OFFICIALS' BIOGRAPHIES

LD200930 Warsaw PAP in English 0300 GMT 20 Jul 81

["Biographies of Members of New PUWP Authorities"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (PAP)--Kazimierz Barcikowski, Political Bureau member, CC secretary, was born on March 22, 1927, to a farmer's family at Zglechow near Warsaw. From 1946 to 1950 he studied farming and earned the title of farming engineer.

At the time of his studies he was active in the authorities of the Polish Youth Union ZMP in Lodz.

He completed postgraduate studies for a doctor's degree at the Central Committee's Higher School of Social Sciences and received the doctor's title in economics. In 1965 he was appointed deputy head of the PUWP CC Organizational Department and editor-in-chief of ZYCIE PARTII.

At the 4th PUWP Congress in (?1964) he was elected alternate member of the Central Committee. The 5th congress in 1968 elected him CC member. Until January 1971 he was first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Poznan. The 7th PUWP CC Plenum in December 1970 elected him secretary of the PUWP CC, and he held the post till 1976. In December 1971 he was elected alternate member of the Political Bureau and he held this post till the 6th PUWP CC Plenum in 1980 which elected him member of the Political Bureau and then CC Secretary. Re-elected CC member at the 9th extraordinary party congress.

In the years 1974-77 he was minister of farming and member of the Government Presidium. From 1977 he was first secretary of the PUWP Krakow committee.

In February 1980 he was appointed vice-premier and last October he was recalled from the post and appointed member of the Council of State. He is co-chairman of the joint Government-Episcopate Commission. Sejm deputy since 1965.

He received the Order of the Builder of People's Poland and the Order of the Banner of Labour first and second classes.

Jozef Zyrek, Political Bureau member and CC secretary, was born at Bialobrzegi, Rzeszow Voivodship, [words indistinct] family on July 20, 1928. He studied at the Jagiellonian University where he obtained a degree of master of ecomic sciences in 1950. He worked in youth organizations, being head of the voivodship student committee of the Rzeszow branch of the "Wici" rural youth organizations.

He was assistant at the Jagiellonian University and at the Higher School of Economics in Krakow between 1949 and 1952.

Since 1952, he has been working at the Foreign Ministry, holding many responsible posts in the ministry's headquarters and in diplomatic foreign missions. Since 1971 he was under-secretary of state at the ministry and since 1980 he has been the minister of foreign affairs.

He was elected alternate member of the PUWP CC at the 6th PUWP Congress in December 1971, and PUWP CC member at the 8th Congress. He was re-elected CC member at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

He is decorated with the Commander's Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the Political Bureau, was born to an intelligentsia family on July 6, 1923 in Kurow, Lublin Voivodship.

During the war, in 1943 he enlisted in the Polish Armed Forces being set up in the USSR. He completed an officers' training school and covered the first army's entire combat trail as a reconnaissance platoon commander in an infantry division and, later, as the regimental reconnaissance commander. He took part in battles on the Vistula and the Magnuszew bridgehead, in the liberation of Warsaw and the forcing of the Pomeranian wall, battles on the Baltic coast, the Cora and Elbe rivers. After the war he fought against the armed underground in the process of strengthening people's authority.

He completed the higher infantry college and the General Karol Swierczewski Academy of General Staff with honours. He was a lecturer in tactics and staff service, chief of the board of military academies and officers' training schools and deputy chief of the combat training board. He was in command of the 12th [words indistinct]. In 1960 he was promoted to chief of the Polish Army's Main Political Board. In 1962 he was appointed vice-minister of national defence. He was the Polish Armed Forces' chief-of-staff since 1965 and minister of national defence since 1968. He is a member of the PUWP CC since 1965 and Political Bureau member since 1971. The 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress re-elected him member of the CC.

General Jaruzelski is a Sejm deputy. On February 11, 1981, the Sejm appointed him prime minister, while he retained the post of defence minister.

Decorated with the Order of Builders of People's Poland, the Order of the Banner of Labour first class, the Virtuti Militari, the Cross of Valour (twice), and other Polish and foreign distinctions.

Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Political Bureau, was born on 29 July, 1935 in Malecz, a village in the Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship, to a peasant family.

In 1958 he graduated from the Textile Department of the Lodz Technical University. From 1958-1961 he worked in the "Ghardia Ludowa" wool industry works as an under-foreman and foreman. In 1969 he was a research worker at the Textile Institute, simultaneously in the years 1961-1964 he was a youth movement activist. From 1963-1964 he was the chairman of the Lodz Socialist Youth Union (ZMS) and member of the ZMS Presidium.

In the years 1969-76 he was deputy chairman of the General Board of the Textile Workers' Union.

From 1976-1977 he was director of the Light Industry Management Staff Post-Graduate Training Centre. Since 1977 till 1980 he was economic secretary at the Lodz PUWP Committee. In November 1980 he was elected first secretary of the Lodz PUWP Committee. Elected member of the PUWP Central Committee at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Awarded with the Polonia Restituta Knight's Cross.

Zofia Grzyb, member of the Political Bureau, was born in Radom to a workers' family on August 18, 1928. In 1947, she started working at the Radom cigarette factory and then began trade union activity as secretary of the district board of the Union of the Food Industry Workers. Between 1951 and 1953, she worked at the Walter precision industry factory. Then she changed her place of employment for the Radoskor shoe factory where she has been working to the present day as forewoman at the department preparing the production. She has incomplete secondary education.

She performed various party functions in the department and basic PUWP organizations. She was longtime member of the Radom Municipal Committee. She is member of the executive of the PUWP works committee at the Radoskor plant. Since the 8th PUWP Congress she has been a CC member. She was re-elected CC member at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP.

She is decorated with the Knight's Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order.

Hieronim Kubniak, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, was born on September 30, 1934 in Lodz to a worker's family. A holder of a higher school diploma in linguistics and sociology. Since 1961 a research worker at the Jagellonian University. In 1968 became a Ph.D., in 1972 an assistant professor at the Jagellonian University, and in 1978 a sociology professor at that university. Secretary of the Committee for Polonia Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), editor-in-chief of the PRZEGLAD POLONIJNY (THE POLONIA REVUE) quarterly.

In the years 1961-64 an activist of the Union of Polish Students. Members of the Krakow PUWP Committee. Elected member of the Central Committee at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Awarded with the Polonia Restitua Knight's Cross.

Jan Labecki, member of the Political Bureau, was born on 21 May, 1943 in Gora, Suwalki Voivodship. He attended a cinematography college in Gdansk. He began his professional work in 1965 at the Gdansk shipyard as a hull welder, and later, as hull quality controller and foreman welder.

Member of the Socialist Youth Union (ZMS). President of the Gdansk ZMS working youth's social commission.

Member of the Executive of Basic Party Organization at a department of the Gdansk shipyard, twice first secretary of the party organization in a yard division.

Elected Central Committee member at the 8th PUWP Congress. Since 20 February 1981 first secretary of the PUWP Gdansk Shipyard Works Committee. Re-elected Central Committee member at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Awarded with the Silver Cross of Merit.

Zbigniew Messner, member of the Political Bureau, was born in Stryj (the USSR), to a workers' family on March 13, 1929. He graduated from the Higher School of Economics in Krakow. He obtained doctor's degree in economic sciences at the Katowice Economic Academy in 1961.

He started working at the Katowice Higher School of Economics in 1950. Between 1968 and 1975 he was deputy rector.

He performed various functions at the PUWP University Committee at the Katowice Academy. He was alternative member of the PUWP Katowice Voivodship Committee and member of the executive of the Voivodship Committee. He was elected PUWP CC member at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP.

Member of the Polish Economic Society where he was vice-chairman of the main board for ten years. Since November 1980, he has been chairman of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council.

He is decorated with the Commander's Cross of the Polonia Restitua Order and has the honorary title of "Poland's Merited Teacher".

Miroslaw Milewski, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, was born on May 1, 1928 in Lipsk-on-the-Biebrza, Suwalki Voivodship, to an intelligentsia family.

At 16, he began to work for the security apparatus, where he occupied various posts at different levels. He was department director at the Ministry of the Interior, and since 1971 undersecretary of state at the same ministry.

During his work for the security apparatus, he graduated from high school and obtained a university diploma.

In 1971, at the 6th PUWP Congress he was elected alternate Central Committee member. Became CC member in 1980, at the 8th party congress, to be re-elected to the Central Committee during the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

M. Milewski is a general and deputy chairman and member of the Central Board of the ZBOWID war veterans' organization.

Awarded with the Order of the Banner of Labour first class order, Commander Cross and the Knight's Cross of the Polonia Restituta, as well as with the Grunwald Cross.

Stefan Olszowski, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary, was born on August 28, 1931 in Torun to a teacher's family. Studied Polish language at the Lodz University where he actively participated in the Socialist Movement of the Polish Youth (ZMP) and the Socialist Youth Movement (ZMS). In the years 1954-56 he worked on the general board of the ZMP. He was Poland's representative in the International Students' Union in Prague. Since 1956 to 1960 he was the president of the Polish Teachers' Association and member of the ZMS Central Committee Secretariat.

In 1960-63 S. Olszowski was secretary of the Poznan PUWP Voivodship Committee. In 1963 he became the head of the press bureau of the PUWP Central Committee and held this post till November 1968. In 1964, at the 4th party congress he was elected member of the Central Committee and in 1968, at the 5th party congress secretary of the PUWP Central Committee. In December 1970 he was elected member of the Political Bureau, re-elected Political Bureau member at the 6th party congress in 1971.

From 1971 to 1976 minister of foreign affairs. From December 1976 till February 1980, secretary of the Central Committee. Elected CC member at the 8th party congress. From March to November 1980 served as Poland's ambassador in the GDR. At the 4th CC plenum elected Political Bureau member and CC secretary. Re-elected member of the Central Committee at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Sejm Deputy. [sentence as received]

Awarded with the Banner of Labour Order (twice), the Officer's Cross of Polonia Restituta.

Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Political Bureau, was born to a peasant family in Gora Wlodawska on October 3, 1911. After completing a vocational school in Czestochowa, he was employed as a worker. He was ganger, foreman, production manager and director of a paper plant in Myszkow. In 1951-1952 he was director of a chemical plant in Nowa Sarzyna. From 1952 to 1972 he was managing director of the Feliks Dzierzynski nitrogen plant in Tarnow. After he retired, he worked as vice chairman of the board of chemical engineers' and technicians' association.

Stanislaw Opalko was a member of the Polish Socialist Party. After the unification congress, he became a PUWP member. He worked in city and voivodship committees in Tarnow and Krakow. He was a member of the voivodship executive bodies there as well.

Since [word indistinct] Stanislaw Opalko was first secretary of the PUWP CC in (?Tarnow). He has been PUWP CC member since the 6th PUWP CC Plenum in 1980. He was reelected CC member at the 9th PUWP Congress.

Starting from 1952, he was Sejm deputy for four consecutive terms of office.

Stanislaw Opalko is a graduate of the Krakow Polytechnic and holds an M.Sc. He also completed a two-year evening course in the party school.

Stanislaw Opalko has been decorated with the Order of the Builders of People's Poland, the Order of the Banner of Labour first and second class and other distinctions.

Tadeusz Porebski, Political Bureau member, was born on April 16, 1931 in Bielsko-Biela to a worker's family. Professor of technical sciences. He graduated from the Technical University of Wroclaw where he took up his first job. He received a doctor's degree in 1961 and is a specialist in technical mechanics. In the years 1969-80 rector of the Wroclaw Technical University.

From 1952 to 1955 president of the Polish Youth Union (ZMP) at the Wroclaw Technical University. In 1955-67 he held the post of first secretary of the PUWP Wroclaw Technical University Committee and at the 6th and 7th congresses CC member. Elected CC member at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

In October 1980 he was appointed first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Wroclaw. The PUWP voivodship conference in June this year re-elected him to this job.

Deputy to the Sejm. [sentence as received]

Holder of the Banner of Labour Order and the Polonia Restituta Officer's cross.

Jerzy Romanik, member of the Political Bureau, was born on September 21, 1931 in Zakopane to a worker's family. A mechanic, he took his first job in 1948 in a farming machinery pool in Opole Voivodship.

From 1955 till 1958 he worked as a tractor mechanic in Kopice, Opole Voivodship. In 1958 he started to work as a miner, at the Siemianowice coal-mine and progressed through all the lower levels of the mining trade hierarchy. Now a foreman, heading machine operator.

Since 1948 member of the ZMP Socialist Youth Union. Since 1972 a basic party organization secretary and since 1978 member of the executive of the Siemianowice PUWP town committee. Elected alternate CC member at the 7th plenum in December 1980 and Central Committee member at the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress.

A long-term miners' union activist, chairman of a workers' council at the Siemianowice coal-mine.

Awarded with the Banner of Labor Order.

Albin Siwak, member of the Political Bureau, was born on January 27, 1933 at Wolomin near Warsaw to a workers' family.

At the age of 17 he worked at a youth work camp constructing a Warsaw district. Then, he worked as a concreter and in 1953 as a foreman. He has been working on this post in the construction industry to the present day, now at a housing construction enterprise in Warsaw.

He is a longtime activitst of the union of construction workers and for many years he was member of the presidium of the works coucil at his enterprise. He was elected vice-chairman of the main board of the Independent Union of the Construction Workers, Construction Industry and Housing Cooperatives at the 12th national congress of the union.

Between 1965 and 1971, he was member of the executive of the PUWP Works Committee at his enterprise. He has been 1st secretary of the basic PUWP organization at the assembly department of his enterprise to the present day. He was in turn: member of the Warsaw PUWP Committee and then member of the executive of the Warsaw Committee. He was co-opted to the PUWP CC as its alternate member at the 6th PUWP CC plenary meeting and elected CC member at the 9th Congress of the PUWP.

He is decorated with the Knight's Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order and the Gold Cross of Merit and other distinctions.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Political Bureau alternate member, was born on 3 August [figures indistinct] in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, Kielce Voivodship to a worker's family. He graduated from the Transport Department at the Warsaw Technical University in 1961. His first job was at the Gdansk Regional Railway Administration, where he passed all the levels of his professional career to reach the post of its deputy managing director. Since 1974 director of the Olbztyn Regional Railway Administration. He held different party functions, including that of first secretary of the PUWP works committee at the Gdansk Regional Railway Administration.

In 1976 elected secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Olsztyn and 1981 first secretary of the same committee.

Elected member of the Central Committee at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Marian Wozniak, Central Committee secretary, was born on 2 March 1936 in Dabrowica in Wolyn to an intelligentsia family.

In 1957 he graduated from the Academy of Economics in Poznan. Since 1957 to 1961 he worked at the voivodship Economic Planning Commission in Zielona Gora. In the years 1961-65 head of the Investments Planning Department at the Plock petrochemical plant. In 1965-67 deputy director of the Petrobudowa construction enterprise. First a student movement and next a long-term party activist.

In the years 1967-70 M. Wozniak was chairman of the Plock National Council Praesidium and till 1973 deputy chairman of the Warsaw National Council. Since 1973 till 1978 he was deputy director, and next, director of a department at the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers. In 1979 he was appointed Siedlce Voivoda. In June 1981 at the PUWP voivodship conference he was elected first secretary of the PUWP Voivoldship Committee in Siedlce. Elected CC member at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Awarded the Polonia Restituta Knight's Cross.

Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee, born on 18 (?August) [words indistinct], Katowice voivodship, to a miner's family.

In 1958 he graduated from the Agricultural College in Krakow. In the same year he began to work at a state farm passing all [word indistinct] levels of the professional hierarchy. In 1960-69 he became department head and next director of the Rychnow state farm in the Opole region. In 1965-66 he obtained a scholarship at the Purdue University in Indiana in the USA.

Since 1969 director of the Glubcyzyce agricultural complex, Opole Voivodship.

He was a member of the Polish Youth Union. He was a party activist starting at the lowest level to become member of the Opole PUWP Voivodship Committee. He also participated in the works of national councils. Elected CC member at the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress.

Holder of the Polonia Restituta Knight's Cross.

Jan Glowczyk, alternate member of the Political Bureau, was born on May 30, 1927, in Grygow, Nowy Sacz Voivodship, to a workers' family. He studied agriculture at the Jagiellonian University and obtained his masters degree in economics. In 1975, he obtained a degree of doctor of economic sciences at the Warsaw Main School of Planning and Statistics.

During the war he was a worker in Nowy Sacz. After the liberation, he worked at the district People's Council in Nowy Sacz. Having completed his higher education, he was a research worker at the Higher School of Economics in Krakow. In 1954, he graduated from the Institute of Social Sciences at the PUWP CC. In 1955-1956, he was secretary of the PUWP Works Committees at the Julian Marchlewski cotton mill in Looz. From [figure indistinct] to 1962, he was a research worker at the Higher School of Social Sciences at the PUWP CC in Warsaw. At the same time, he has been editor-in-chief of the ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE weekly.

During his studies he was active in youth organizations, in the Federation of Polish Student Organizations, the Polish Youth Union ZMP and the Polish Students' Union ZSP, as chairman of a ZSP University Council at the Jagiellonian University for several terms of office he was member of the presidium of the Polish Economic Association and of the presidium of the Polish Journalists' Union.

He was elected PUWP CC member at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP.

He is decorated with the Commander's Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order.

LEADERS, FOREIGN DELEGATES POSTCONGRESS MEETINGS

Grishin, Kania Address Meeting

LD202258 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--A meeting took place after the closing of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress between the party leadership and foreign delegations which participated in the work of the congress.

Together with delegations from communist and workers' parties of 10 socialist countries--the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Romania, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia, and Yugoslavia--PZPR Central Committee members elected at the ninth congress, arrived. Present were S. Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee, who headed the members of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and general of the Army.

Stanislaw Kania spoke at the meeting, congratulating the newly elected members of the party's executive organs. We have met with the delegations of the CPSU Central Committee and other fraternal parties, he said, so that, making use of their presence, we can bear witness to the international ties linking our party with the whole international communist and workers movement, with the part of the world which is the strength of real socialism. At our congress we adopted a program of action. I am convinced that it will be forged into facts which will strengthen the position of the party among the working class, will create and strengthen the force of socialism, strengthen Poland -- and inviolable, firm and weighty link of socialism in the world.

Having thanked the members of foreign delegations for their presense at the ninth PZPR Congress, the first secretary of the Central Committee addressed a request to them to convey to their parties, their general secretaries and their peoples, whose representatives they are, his best wishes. He also expressed his conviction that the presence of foreign visitors in Poland at the ninth PZPR Congress will serve to raise the faith in the strength of our party and our desire to [words indistinct] this strength.

A speech was then made by Viktor Grishin, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, who, on behalf of and at the request of foreign delegations, thanked the PZPR Central Committee for the invitation to the congress and for the (?warm) hospitality. He spoke about the lively interest with which the foreign guests followed the work of this party forum. He expressed the hope that the new composition of the PZPR Central Committee would consistently struggle to overcome the political and economic crises, strengthen the PZPR on the bases of Marxism-Leninism and strengthen the socialist order in Poland. He stressed that the presence at the ninth PZPR Congress of delegations of communist and workers parties from socialist countries was yet another proof of the viability of the links uniting our countries. In the name of the foreign delegations he congratulated the leadership of the PZPR, headed by Comrade S Kania, and wished it success in its work in strengthening the positions of socialism on Polish soil. We hope that communists, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligents, the whole fraternal people of Poland, V Grishin said, will rapidly overcome their difficulties and ensure the further all-round progress of their socialist motherland.

The meeting took place in a very cordial and informal atmosphere.

Talks With CPSU Delegates

LD202304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] A meeting was held between Stanislaw Kania, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the CPSU delegation led by Viktor Grishin. The communique states that there was discussion, in a warm and friendly atmosphere, of problems linked with the further development of cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU, between Poland and the Soviet Union, and other problems which are the subject of mutual interest.

RCP's Banc Talks With Kania

AU211043 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jul (AGERPRES)-- On July 20 in the afternoon, during a friendly meeting organized by the CC of the PUWP and attended by members of the party leading bodies elected by the congress and delegations of the communist and workers' parties of some socialist countries participating in the forum of the Polish Communists, Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the CC of the PUWP, cordially conversed with Iosif Banc, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation to the ninth special congress of the PUWP.

On the occasion, the conviction was expressed that the good, traditional relations of friendship and manysided collaboration between the two parties, between Romania and Poland will further develop in the interests of the Romanian and Polish peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace, of national independence and international understanding.

KANIA, CONGRESS RECEIVE FOREIGN OFFICIAL GREETINGS

Grlickov, LCY Greetings

LD191105 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (TANJUG)--This morning, Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received in Warsaw the LCY delegation led by Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, attending the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Aleksandar Grlickov congratulated Stanislaw Kania on his election to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and wished him success in his responsible post and in the implementation of the socialist renewal of Polish society. Grlickov also conveyed to Kania greetings and best wishes for success from the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Stanislaw Kania expressed thanks for the greetings and best wishes and returned greetings to the LCY leadership.

The meeting took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

RCP Congress Delegate Banc

AU191655 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (AGERPRES)--On Sunday, July 19, Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the CC of the PUWP [PZPR], had a cordial interview with Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation to the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PUWP.

On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, warm congratulations were conveyed to Stanislaw Kania on his election by the congress at the head of the party as first secretary of the CC of the PUWP, as well as wishes of good health and full success in translating into fact the resolutions of the congress meant to ensure Poland's advance on the road of socialism, in keeping with the supreme interests of the Polish nation.

Stanislaw Kania thanked and requested that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed best wishes of good health, of fresh successes in the fruitful activity he carries on at the head of the Romanian party and state for implementing the resolutions of the Twelfth RCP Congress, for the benefit and happiness of the friendly Romanian people.

ZSL, SD Leaders Greet Kania

LD201658 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--Among the many letters and telegrams addressed to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, are congratulatory telegrams from Stefan Ignar, chairman of the ZSL Central Committee, and Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Commiteee.

Conveying greetings and warm wishes on behalf of the Central Committee and all members of ZSL, S. Ignar notes that entrusting S. Kania with the most responsible post during such a difficult situation for the country is in keeping with hopes for a consistent implementation of the policy of socialist renewal, for overcoming the crisis and embarking on a path of harmonious development. The ZSL, rooted in partnership and cooperation with the PZPR, will support all efforts aimed at implementing these goals, as well as putting forward its own initiatives concerning the country's economy, and in particular, the food industry.

In his congratulatory letter, E. Kowalczyk wishes the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee personally, and the whole of the newly elected leadership, success in their political work and positive results in this work, in keeping with the expectations of all the people. The letter expresses the conviction that that unity of the main aims, and a further constructive development of cooperation between the PZPR and the SD within the framework of the triparty system, would assist the successful implementation of all the programs, particularly the common elements of the PZPR and SD programs.

The chairman of the SD Central Committee gave his assurance that cooperation between the SD and the PZPR, and all patriotic social forces in Poland, would serve to strengthen socialism and the triparty union, and would increase the effects and overall responsibility for joint measures.

PAP Cites Party Greetings

LD201150 Warsaw PAP in English 0930 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--The 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress has received letters and telegrams containing greetings and wishes for fruitful debates from 55 communist and workers' parties, as well as from 9 socialist, national-democratic parties and national liberation movements. TRYBUNA LUDU carries excerpts from these messages.

The secretariat of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party stresses the importance which the French Communist Party attaches to the development of cooperation between France and Poland and to the strengthening of all-round relations. "On our part, basing on common tradition, we intend to do everything to ensure that France and Poland may work actively towards peace, disarmament, independence and security of all states," said the message.

"The Italian Communists--underlines the letter from the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party--have always voiced their conviction that the communists, the working people and the Polish nation themselves will live up to their duty of solving difficult problems by political means." The Italian Communist Party wishes the Polish United Workers Party that "the line of renewal may receive from the congress precise direction and fresh impulses enabling the Polish United Workers Party, given responsible cooperation of other basic forces of the Polish society, to take increasingly effective action towards overcoming the country's [word indistinct] difficulties, injecting socialism with new strength and vitality through its original development providing for the broadest possible participation of the working class, all working people and all popular forces."

The letter from the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party deals extensively with the international situation and the struggle waged by Portugal's communists against the imperialist forces of war and subversion aimed against the socialist countries. The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party emphasizes: "The defence of socialism in Poland, as well as the defence of independence and inviolability of frontiers, lies not only in the interest of the Polish workers and nation but also of the entire world communist and revolutionary movement, all anti-imperialist forces and those who love peace."

Also the letter from the German Communist Party (DKP) devotes ample attention to the international situation, the offensive of the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism with its inherent threat to peace.

The message says: "The nations of Europe have benefited very much from the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, a policy of detente and peaceful coexistence, as well as the struggle waged by all peace forces. Can we, as communists, permit imperialism to ruin all this? We, the West German communists, ever since 1945 have deemed it our principal national and internationalist duty to do all in our power to prevent war ever to reemerge from the German soil. Therefore we have directed all our effort to prevent the stationing by the United States of rapid deployment weapons on our territory. With the use of deadly missiles and broad support for counter-revolutionary forces, imperialism is striving to lay the groundwork for implementation of its old and new aims of revising the existing frontiers in Europe, which means calling into question the existence of the Polish state and its frontiers."

Pen Sovan, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, states: "The Revolutionary People's Party of Kampuchea, the government and the Kampuchean nation deeply believe that the government and the Kampuchean nation deeply believe that under the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party the Polish nation will succeed in defending the revolutionary gains, preserve solidarity with the socialist community and defend its vital interests. We can assure you that the Revolutionary People's Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean nation will always remain faithful to friendship and solidarity with the socialist Poland."

A letter from the Central Committee of the Democratic-People's Party of Afghanistan addressed to the 9th congress says: "We sincerely wish you full success in implementing the tasks of rebuilding the unity and combat character of the party ranks based on the lasting principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community."

The cable from Luis Corvalan, sent on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, says: "We wish the Polish United Workers Party that it may emerge strengthened from the congress so that it can properly perform its leading role towards the Polish nation. According to what you have emphasized that the interests of Poland are inseparably linked with the defence and development of socialism in your country, we believe that Poland will remain a lasting link of the socialist community."

Member of the Central Executive Committee and Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India N.K. Krishnan emphasized in his message: "We are fully convinced that the deliberations of your congress will contribute to the further strengthening of the socialist system in your country, as well as the great role which the Polish People's Republic plays in the struggle for peace and security in the world."

OTHER ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN DELEGATES; DEPARTURES

MPRP Delegates Tour Plant

LD171258 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--The delegation of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party to the 9th PUWP Congress, headed by alternate member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Party Control Commission at the MPRP CC Bugyn Dejid, was guest of the Polish optical instruments factory in Warsaw.

The visitors, warmly welcomed by the personnel, toured the plant. They took a lively interest especially in the production of medical equipment.

During a meeting with staff members, the delegation answered questions concerning the development of Mongolia and its economic, social and cultural policy.

Cuban Meets SFRY Delegate

FL172030 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Dispatch by special correspondent to Warsaw (Loly Estevez)]

[Text] Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, head of the Cuban delegation to the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress, has had a meeting in Warsaw with Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The Politburo member of the Communist Party of Cuba and the head of the Yugoslav delegation invited to the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress conversed on topics of general interst and aspects of bilateral relations between the two parties.

SED Delegation Departs

LD201944 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1833 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (ADN)--The SED delegation to the PZPR Congress led by Werner Felfe, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, has left for the GDR. It was seen off at Warsaw Airport by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary.

CSSR, MSZMP Delegations Leave

LD201937 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Some of the socialist countries' fraternal communist and workers' parties delegations which participated in the session of the Ninth PZPR Congress are leaving Warsaw. This afternoon the following party delegations left for home: the CPCZ, the SED and the MSZMP.

GRABSKI ADDRESSES PZPR PROBLEM TEAM 16 JULY

LD171612 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Speech by PZPR Politburo member Tadeusz Grabski at 16 July session of PZPR Congress Sixth Problem Team for Economic Questions -- recorded]

[Text] Our Sixth Problem Team was given a task of particular importance concerning problems of essential significance for our country. We have to prepare proposals for the congress concerning socioeconomic policy and reforms [words indistinct] on the functioning of the economy. The extent of social expectations and interest in this field is demonstrated by the course of the plenary discussion at the ninth congress. The work of six other problem teams also concerns the economic sphere. Each of them has been dealing with a key problem, or a key group of questions concerning the national economy.

Our task is to thoroughly probe the issues, to seek to understand basic economic and social questions as they mutually affect each other, and to agree on the current dramatic conditions and look to the horizon of the coming years.

In the period preceding the ninth congress broad-based work was done at various levels and in various milieus. The aim of this work was to find ways out for our economy, to define directions for its development and to formulate a mechanism governing the functioning of this economy. The work done will create a good starting point for today's deliberations.

The general precepts of this work are contained in a program report. Suggestions for solutions are also presented in such congress documents as the "Report on the State of the Economy," the "Program for Overcoming the Crisis and Stabilizing the Economy" and the "Directions of Economic Reform." We should also make use of the fruits of the precongress discussion, although it is my feeling that these achievements are more modest in the economic sphere than we expected. The whole range of economic problems, particularly in the initial stages of the report-back and election campaign, was overlaid by other discussion trends particularly concerning the settling of accounts But in the final phase of the campaign economic problems acquired increasing importance.

The fact that the most numerous group of delegates have put their names down for work in our Sixth Problem Team--more than 220 comrades from all milieus, including from party organizations at large enterprises--is a very important and hopeful sign.

We are counting greatly on your vote, comrade delegates. The work of the Sixth Problem Team is being carried out by a large number of congress guests, [words indistinct] party and economic activists, scientists. journalists and members of the Economic Reform Commission. The composition of the team will enable it to carry out its function properly.

One of the party's fundamental tasks is to strengthen its leading role in the state and in society. Fulfilling a leading economic role is of particularly great significance for the party. The economy is the (?absolutely) most important front of the construction of socialism. Recent months, more clearly than ever before, have revealed the close link between ideology, politics and economics. Economic interests are specific class and group interests. A considerable number of economic decisions bring direct sociopolitical results. Finally, it must be pointed out that the economy, particularly industry, transportation, building construction, are the general property of the working class, which constitutes the social base of the party. Proprietary [word indistinct] regarding the means of production have a prejudicial significance for the issue of the system of government in the state; for the question of who exerts authority in it.

For these reasons the party must not leave economic issues outside the sphere of its interest and influence. That would constitute a departure from Marxist-Leninist ideologies. There is no question about this. On the other hand, the methods, forms and the style of performing the leading role of the party in the sphere of the economy need to be thought out and discussed in depth. We have critically appraised the practice in this area so far.

There have also been a great number of irregularities, such as frequent direct intervention by the party apparatus in the current economic processes. A different style of the leading role of the party must be worked out because we have initiated important transformations in the model of social life. Moving consistently along the path of transformations, along the path of socialist renewal, our party initiated a complex economic reform. All this means new conditions to which we must adapt the solutions in party work in the economic sphere.

Among the issues on which we must work diligently one must single out such matters as relations between the party organization and trade unions within an enterprise, or between the party organization and self-government. In today's discussion we ought to work out a point of view on those matters and to present a suitable proposal for the programmatic resolution of the congress.

Comrades. The [word indistinct] of the present economic situation is well known to us. The community feels it more and more painfully. Mostly negative tendencies, unfortunately, still hold in the economy. The deficit of fuels, raw materials and other materials constitutes the main hindrance to production. The overcoming of this deficit is without doubt a decisive issue at the present time.

This applies in the first place to coal and to electrical energy. Undertaking normal work in mines on Saturdays represents a solution which could, within a short period of time, bring a considerable increase in output in the mining industry. The maintaining of a 5-day working week by miners requires an increase of employment and also of expenditure for social amenities and an improvement in the organization of labor, its conditions and its safety. A delegate from the Katowice Voivodship talked about this in the discussion the day before yesterday. Similar solutions must be adopted in all the branches and establishments which produce raw and other materials and also everywhere where shortages of basic factors of production are relatively small. Plans for material production, both at the level of the national economy and at the enterprises level, should assume a thrifty husbandry of fuels, energy, raw and other materials. Through the reform we want to install mechanisms which will induce enterprises toward precisely those activities.

Unfortunately, the profound decline in national income compels us today to cut down in real terms expenditure on investment projects. Net investment projects which have been reduced this year, represented a mere 11.5--12 percent of the national income. We must be aware of the dangerous consequences which this has for the chances of the development of the economy in the future.

Taking into account the need to limit the level of investment projects, a concentration of means is essential for undertakings which are connected with spheres of greatest priority, such as food economy, exports and the development of the fuel and energy base. We must really and finally sort out the sphere of investments. The most difficult problem from the social angle is the financial and market situation. The severity of goods shortages exceeds even the most pessimistic estimates of several months ago. In many areas, even the coupons do not guarantee purchase. The key to a solution lies in production both of industry, agriculture and the crafts. It is right that in the government anticrisis program commitments which are now being made or proposed are directed first and foremost toward revitalizing production trends, toward increasing the supply of goods, in particular of foodstuffs.

The most significant issue in the present situation is that of making the food complex a matter of real priority. The activities geared to promoting agriculture so far have not met the needs of the community. We assess critically the involvement of industry in the development of means of production, and in particular in the production of spare parts for machines and tractors. The need to carry out a reform of retail prices, especially of foodstuffs, is becoming more and more pressing. It cannot be postponed. This view is being expressed in the community more and more widely. You have found, comrades, more detailed proposals in the program. Today, comrades, we should devote the attention this issue deserves.

At the same time we must be aware of the fact that a change of prices will bring down the real incomes of groups with higher earnings. It is the party's concern that the price reform will not lower the income of groups with the lowest earnings whose living conditions are the most difficult.

In the face of the existing material and technical barriers, cooperational barriers, and certain social priorities, the need arises for considerable transformations in the structure of production, and thus the restructuring of production, this cannot take place without a transitional stoppage in the production of certain technological lines or a reorganization of enterprises for the production of other goods than those produced until now.

In these conditions we expect considerable relocations in the structure and arrangement of employment. This is difficult socially and politically. Never in the post-war period has this occurred on such a scale as it will now. It requires the work and initiative of both the central authorities and of the enterprises themselves. In order to carry this out the understanding and participation of the trade unions is necessary. One of the hindrances in extricating the country from the crisis is the payment situation, the serious and mounting export difficulties. A condition for improvement is progress in the area of the export capabilities of our economy. Export production must be specially protected both in the distribution of material and foreign currency means. In our trade contacts we also [word indistinct] possibilities for a greater utilization of our production capabilities by broadening [words indistinct] of the given material.

Participation by the CEMA partners in the completion of some advanced investment projects in our country which have been suspended, would also be mutually beneficial. In this matter, concrete proposals have been submitted by the government. Such efforts have already been undertaken, although so far, they have not brought considerable results. Taking into account the fact that economic relations with the countries of the socialist community are the most beneficial for our country we must carry out a provisional reorientation to tighten up bilateral economic relations in the framework of the CEMA. A complex reform of the system of the economy's functioning constitutes a good basis for putting it in order.

The reform prepared at present is not confined to changes in the mechanism of functioning, but it signifies a total reconstruction of forms and structures of organization and management to date. It represents a complicated social process which is carried out in extremely difficult economic and political conditions. The draft of the functioning of the economy presented in the congress documents is based on three fundamental principles; on the principle of socialized planning on the scale of the entire national economy; on the principle of the independence and self-government of enterprises; and on the principle of the economic instruments of the state's economic policy. The implementation of the principle of socializing central planning through authentic participation by representative bodies and social and self-governing organizations in the process of formulating and endorsing plans ought to ensure an agreement between the adopted [word indistinct] of objectives and material, social and cultural needs and the means of their implementation, and the real feelings of the community in this respect. Thus the principle of the community's participation in the management of economy and of the state will be implemented.

The fundamental economic unit in the draft is the enterprise which is based on independence, self-government and self-financing. Such a solution generates far-reaching consequences in all the areas of the functioning of the economy and also of the community. The self-government of a workforce becomes an authentic manager of an enterprise. At the same time we are preserving the national ownership of the nation's wealth. This is a fundamental condition of the political system. It makes possible the superiority of national objectives, which are expressed in the socialized central plan, over particularism and interests of individual economic organizations. In the conditions of the independence and self-government of enterprises the methods of the central management of national economy also change.

Economic instruments assume a fundamental significance which ought to result from the assumptions of the central plan and from the market mechanism. A departure is made not only from the principles, until now binding, of administrative and centralized management of the economy, but also the thesis on the exclusion of the market as a factor regulating the economy, is refuted. The economy in the new mechanism of functioning will thus operate on the principle of central planning with the utilization of the market mechanism.

I should like to stress that the particular character of the drafted system, its originality against the backdrop of the experiences to date of all socialist countries, lies in the attempt to settle the extremely important question of ensuring the independence and self-government of enterprises as a condition for effectiveness on a small scale while creating guarantees in the social sphere that would agree with the principles of the socialist political system.

Comrades. Our discussion today ought to result in the formulation of an attitude that would enable a speedy start to be made on the implementation of the economic reform. In my view the draft presented for the congress directions of economic reform fulfills the demands made by the present economic conditions and meets social expectations. The presented documents were prepared in a democratic manner on the basis of a long social discussion. I am speaking of this because there have recently been accusations to the effect that there is a lack of social consultation on documents and because of this some people have proposed rejecting them. The drafted guidelines of the reform accord with the inviolable principles of our political system, such as the national ownership of means of production, equality and social justice, and the principles of "to each according to his work." The undertaking of the economic reform program must not give rise to illusions in the community to the effect that with its implementation all difficulties will automatically disappear. The reform will merely create the essential conditions or mechanisms for the overcoming of these difficulties. It will fulfill social expectations only when organizational changes and changes in the system will be strongly supported in economic organizations and directly in enterprises.

BARYLA'S 14 JULY SPEECH ON COUNTERREVOLUTION

AU171337 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jul 81 pp 3-4

[Report on speech by Division General Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Administration and deputy minister of national defense, at the 14 July session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: We are participating in an extraordinary congress, having discussions under conditions that are unusual for our country, and therefore whatever we resolve must be highly purposeful, very mature and valuable morally, politically, socially and economically; it must meet public expectations.

In the postwar period, we have never been in a situation as difficult as the present one. I think one can say without any exaggeration that the question how, when and at what price we emerge from the difficult situation depends on the decisions that will be adopted by the congress. Thus we are facing decisions of historic significance. The crux of the matter is to restore the fundamental values of socialism, to see to it that the state and the economy function properly, and to provide real guarantees for the further development of the country.

We are aware that the program presented by the party to overcome the crisis is being implemented under conditions--let us be frank--of a counterrevolutionary threat on the part of antisocialist forces supported by political subversion centers abroad.

In such a situation, recent events--strikes, various political tensions, including the escalation of provocative demands and protests, and attempts to disorganize management at state enterprises under the pretext of "radical self-government concepts"--are even more disturbing.

All that indicates that the campaign of aggravating the country's internal situation is a controlled one. In our opinion, it is not a mere accident that those tensions have coincided in time with the congress.

For that reason, what we need badly are party cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the will to provide a program so much expected by everyone, and winning for that program the entire society. At the same time it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against all those who would like to make our country return to the path embarked upon in the memorable July of 1944.

What matters today is to make use of conclusions drawn from the past to efficiently fight for the future, and to give a clear answer to the question: What is to be done to successfully cope with the tasks facing the party and the entire society?

I am confident, comrades, that this question will certainly be answered in the decisions that we will adopt at the congress.

We have sensed those decisions in the Central Committee report delivered by our party's Central Committee first secretary, Comrade Kania.

For that reason we second that programmatic line. Our attitude arises from the conviction that the line of socialist renewal and at the same time of the resolute struggle against the enemies of socialism provides real chances to overcome the crisis and to recover society's confidence in the party.

As party members, as citizens and soldiers, we are deeply interested in the swift eradication of anarchy and chaos, in stabilizing the country's sociopolitical life, in consolidating the prestige of the authorities and the state, and in restoring equilibrium to our economy, which has been upset. For that reason and in line with the central slogan for our congress, we shall defend socialism in the way we defend Poland.

We have repeatedly expressed the view that we will not accept anything that goes against our interests, against the socialist system and its principles, and against our right to national sovereignty won by many efforts. I would like to emphasize once again from this stand that no one may count on our leniency if he incites anyone against our system, against the party, against the alliances--particularly with the Soviet Union--and against the Polish-Soviet comradeship in arms. We regard it as our soldiers' duty to strengthen that alliance. We consolidated it in fighting for the country's liberation and we consolidate it now, while carrying out our internationalist duties in the peaceful service in the framework of the Warsaw Pact on all our country's borders--in the air, the sea and the land--because that alliance is a fundamental condition for our security.

Comrades, the Armed Forces have come to the congress with considerable achievements. The precongress campaign has confirmed that we had in the army a strong and politically mature party organization. The discussions have manifested a deep concern for the destinies of the party and the people. Predominant in them was a current of creative criticism aimed at improving life and party activity in the Army.

The best comrades have been elected to party governing bodies. That is a guarantee for proper party political work in military units. The precongress campaign has invigorated the activity of people and has produced many specific suggestions and proposals. We will constantly enhance that animation and shall make careful use of the suggestions and proposals in our daily lives.

Communists in the Army have once again shown by their attitudes that they were always with the party, counted on the party, believed in the restoration of its forces and prestige, and built up that prestige in specific activities. In their efforts, they are seconded by a mass and politically united youth organization within the Army, the Union of Socialist Polish Youths. Also the trade union of Army employees, encompassing in its ranks 85 percent of our civilian comrades in service and work, works fruitfully.

We find a strong support among war and peacetime veterans in the union of fighters for freedom and democracy and the union of former professional soldiers. Such an attitude among the military results from the work performed for many years by officers, the political apparatus, party organizations and all party aktivs in the armed forces.

Present at this congress is a group of delegates from the Army, including some elected at voivodship conferences. It is to be emphasized that it is larger than ever. Hundreds of professional soldiers have been elected to local party authorities, including the positions of voivodship committee secretaries. I would like to thank party voters very much for the confidence. We regard this confidence as an acknowledgement not only of individual persons, but also of all Armed Forces. We regard this confidence as the highest obligation. Esteemed delegates, I can assure you that we will not disappoint you in your confidence. We are strong and willing enough to serve the party and the nation in a way befitting soldiers.

The strength of our army lay primarily in patriotic professional cadres. Demands confronting them have always been high. They are obligated to constantly improve their Marxist-Leninist training and military qualifications. It is our objective that all the professional cadres be spokesmen of party policy and that they manifest their idéological qualities both on and off duty.

The high professional requirements, the unrestricted working time, the constant readiness, the difficult duties, the great reponsibility for persons and military equipment, the frequent separation from the closest families, and the daily shortages and worries make the service today particularly difficult. But notwithstanding those difficult conditions, our cadres work selflessly and honestly cope with their duties.

We are very pleased that the Polish People's Army, shaped on the grounds of the best patriotic and internationalist traditions, both in our history and at present also invariably enjoys respect and love among the people. That results from the fact that it has the mandate of the people, that military service and the soldier's lot have for many years been shared by almost every Polish home, every family. We have developed in the Army a certain model for combining the best, century old Polish traditions with the values of socialism. In our opinion, that experience could be of general public use.

We will constantly consolidate that tie to the people, formed in history. We will spare no soldiers' effort to develop the national economy, science, culture and public life. We will support the struggle for high public and production discipline, the struggle against anarchy and attempts to disorganize the national economy, because domestic law and order, a stable and developing economy are of fundamental importance for the efficient functioning of the state, for boosting the feeling of security and of the defense potential of the country.

Our cadres and all soldiers are fully aware of that and are prepared to continue to multiply the capital of public confidence earned by generations of soldiers. Today we place all that capital at the disposal of the party and of the people's authorities in order to serve the socialist fatherland in a worthy way.

We know that the congress will give the party a program equal to the hopes and needs of the entire society, and as far as we communists in military uniforms are concerned, it will boost our strength to cope with the responsible defense tasks.

Those priceless values for the people are in command of our entire soldiers' toil, daily service and work. Today that is our honorable duty and most important task.

COMMENTATOR SUMS UP PAPERS COMMENT ON CONGRESS

LD200920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0752 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Press review]

[Text] I shall return to matters directly connected with the congress. The ZYCIE WARSZAWY journalist writes that this most important party forum has confirmed the political line of the party which is expected by most of the community. Regardless of the existing tensions and open questions there is every indication that in political matters we are achieving in Poland a certain modus vivendi and a chance for stabilization. At the same time, however, a failure to overcome the economic decline presents a threat of destabilizing the social equilibrium which is progressing and which has been achieved with difficulty.

A commentary in SZTANDAR MLODYCH stresses that the Central Committee is for the most part composed of people with moderate views who clearly support the line of social accord. This has to be so as otherwise they would not have been supported by the delegates who elected them.

Jerzy Slawski in SLOWO POWSZECHNE stresses the significance of the highest forum of Polish communists, stating that this significance lies above all in the fact that the congress has upheld socialist renewal and has recognized it as an irreversible process. This choice is most significant, and looking at the congress from this viewpoing one has to say that it has not let down Poland's expectations and world public opinion which has watched its session with such great attention. There is no turning back from the path chosen by the congress for the party, too. It is a good thing that there is no turning back because this is the only right way under our conditions.

GLOS PRACY COMMENTS ON PZPR CONGRESS RESULTS

LD210328 Warsaw PAP in English 0100 GMT 21 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jul (PAP)--In a comment on the 9th party congress the Polish trade union daily GLOS PRACY wrote that "the debates and the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress are without precedent in the history of People's Poland.

"Now the time comes for severe verification of the adopted principles and people who would direct their implementation. Of decisive significance here is just the one criterion--the effectiveness of actions. In some spheres this effectiveness should be virtually immediate. This certainly refers to the hardships of everyday life. For the solution of many other problems the [illegible]v would be inclined to wait, even at the cost of considerable sacrifices.

"This society [illegible]--as was justly said at the congress--must be convinced that this time the sacrifices would not be in vain, that the road it was shown would lead it to the end. For this reason, at least, the outcome of the [words indistinct] efforts at the realization of the 9th congress resolutions are so much important, the first steps on the road which should draw closer the brighter perspective.

"In this respect, the stand of Stanislaw Kania, who after his election to the post of first secretary confirmed once again that he would remain faithful to the line of socialist renewal, the line of agreement, the line of struggle for the defence of the principles of socialism, is important and responsible. To make this line durable and effective, the authorities must act in a sensible and creative way and all the social forces, the entire nation, must have the same attitude. This will be very difficult to attain in our country that is constantly shaken by unrest. But this is the only chance to stand up to the historical trial which may be the most important in the history of the nation," concluded GLOS PRACY.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES KANIA ON REELECTION

AU201338 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, sent a telegram to Comrade Stanislaw Kania expressing most cordial congratulations and warm, friendly greetings on the occasion of his election as first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed wishes for good health and working strength in fulfilling the highly responsible function entrusted to him by the party, and wishes for success to the Polish Communists and people in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress devoted to ensuring Poland's resolute progress along the path of socialism, in keeping with the supreme interests of the Polish nations. At the end of the message Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and manysided cooperation between the RCP and PZPR, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Poland will further deepen, in the interests and for the benefit of the Romanian and Polish peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace, national security and independence, and understanding and cooperation among peoples.

VICE PREMIER DINCA CONFERS WITH IRAQI MINISTERS

AU201941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 20 Jul (AGERPRES)--Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP, Romanian first deputy prime minister, now in Iraq in order to attend the festivities occasioned by the 13th anniversary of the Iraqi Revolution, had interviews with Sa'dun Ghaydan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, first deputy prime minister, minister of transport and communications, with Tayih 'Abd al-Karim, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, minister of oil and with Tahir at-Tawfiq, minister of industry and minerals.

During the interviews the development and diversification of the Romanian-Iraqi relations were assessed with satisfaction, the stage of the main actions of economic cooperation and of the trade exchanges between Romania and Iraq were analyzed, reasserting, on this occasion too, the wish of the two countries' governments to deepen and expand further on the bilateral mutually advantageous economic collaboration.

The talks passed in a cordial atmosphre, in the spirit of respect for the mutual interests and advantage.

CEAUSESCU GREETS HUSAYN ON IRAQI NATIONAL DAY

AU200936 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Saddam Husayn, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Republic of Iraq, Baghdad:

The 13th anniversary of the 17 June revolution in Iraq gives me the pleasant opportunity to extend to you, on behalf of the Romanian people and myself personally, warm congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness, and for the friendly Iraqi people's peace and prosperity.

On this great holiday for your country, I express the conviction that the good relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between our parties and peoples will continue to expand and develop to the benefit of the friendly Romanian and Iraqi peoples and in the interest of the overall cause of peace, independence, detente and cooperation throughout the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CCP'S HU YAOBANG THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CABLE

AU200940 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general:

Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

I thank you for the congratulations extended to me.

I wholeheartedly wish you much health, long life and ever greater successes in leading the Romanian people in the great work of building socialism.

[Signed] Hu Yaobang, chairman of the CCP Central Committee

CCP CONVEYS THANKS FOR ANNIVERSARY CONGRATULATIONS

AU200940 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] To the RCP Central Committee:

Esteemed Comrades,

We sincerely thank you for the congratulations extended to us by the RCP Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the CCP's founding.

We note with satisfaction that the profound friendship and relations of friendly comprehensive cooperation between the parties and peoples of China and Romania have continuously developed in recent years.

We wish the Romanian people well in attaining new and ever greater achievements--under the leadership of the RCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--in implementing decisions adopted at the 12th party congress and fulfilling the new 5-year plan.

[Signed] The CCP Central Committee

CEAUSESCU PRESENTS AWARDS TO OLYMPIC CHAIRMAN

AU201421 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Excerpt] President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu today received Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee and Primo Nebiolo, president of the International University Sports Federation who are in our country on the occasion of the University Games '81. The reception was attended by comrades Ili Verdet, Ion Coman, Cornelia Filipas, Stefan Andrei and Emil Draganescu, minister of tourism and sports; Pantelimon Gavanescu, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] and minister for youth problems; Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the UCY Central Committee; Tudor Mohora, secretary of the UCY Central Committee and chairman of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania, and deputy chairmen of the national committee in charge of the university games.

On this occasion Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, Primo Nebiolo, president of the International University Sports Federation, with the Tudor Vladimirescu Order First Class, conferred by presidential decree for contribution to developing the international athletic movement and world university sports, to promoting friendship and understanding among all young people of the world, in a spirit of international peace and cooperation.

MORE REPORTAGE ON PZPR CONGRESS HELD IN WARSAW

Radio Reviews Congress

AU201955 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Special correspondent Branislav Canak report from Warsaw]

[Text] The cases of a party convening a congress outside the regular term provided for in the statute are rare. Strong reasons are needed in the party itself, in the country in which it works or in the international field. In the case of Poland, all the three reasons existed. Therefore the work to be done and the responsibility were the greater. It remains to be seen in the coming days what the Polish Communists have accomplished. One thing is certain: The bureaucratic shell has cracked and new, ordinary people have come to the surface of political life in Poland: workers, peasants, engineers, teachers and officers. Such a composition, as Stanislaw Kania said in his closing speech this afternoon, guarantees that the interests of the workers' class and the people will be best represented.

New people, new chances, a better future: In a nutshell, this is how the results of the ninth congress are seen in Poland. Above all they are three, one may say constitutive, elements of the future work of the party: development of socialist democracy, agreement with other social forces and a consistent implementation of the socialist reconstruction line.

A process of rejection of the old schemes has begun, primarily in the party and also in its attitude toward society. This also demands new machinery which would ensure that what has been agreed upon will be implemented as fully as possible, but for the time being there are no precise solutions. In the discussions, especially those held in the commissions, a certain form of self-management in the enterprises and in the parliament was mentioned as one of the possible kinds of machinery. However, 7 days are of course not enough for a full determination of the new Polish road to socialism. A long period of work is needed so that, as Stanislaw Kania stressed in his closing speech, fresh pages of Polish history may be written with the creativity that is to lead the country out of the deep crisis.

We may also say that the congress with its authority almost completely vindicated the sixth plenum decisions. In this way the first of the seven meetings of the former Central Committee held in the period since the August events has attained a historic significance. The policy of agreement and the process of socialist reconstruction based on it, which were begun at that plenum, have received a confirmation at the congress which amounts to a comprehensive program.

This policy reflected on the composition of the highest party leadership, and it can therefore be confidently asserted even at this time that after this congress, the sixth plenum decisions will be the firmest guarantee of Polish reconstruction.

Bloc Coverage Reported

AU201800 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow PRAVDA published today the briefest report on the PZPR Extraordinary Congress so far, carrying only the most basic points from Jaruzelski's speech yesterday. It is pointed out that the plenum yesterday examined the questions of electing the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. PRAVDA has not published the names of the newly elected Politburo members who are almost all new.

Budapest television in its commentary last night pointed out that Stanislaw Kania's election as first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee indicates the greatest trust the party has in him. It is stressed that half of the new Central Committee are workers.

The reelection of Stanislaw Kania as first secretary has not been the subject of any commentary in the Bulgarian press. Central Sofia press continues to carry excerpts from speeches of those delegates who pointed out the deep sociopolitical and economic crisis as a consequence of gross errors and deformations in the activities of the party and the state and the need to strengthen the leading role of the Polish party. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the Bulgarian party daily, believes that the Polish congress paid insufficient attention to ideological work.

The election of Stanislaw Kania and other leading organs of the Polish party has received prominent publicity in the Romanian information media. The stress is put on Stanislaw Kania's words that the new leadership will struggle for the unity of the entire party, the strengthening of its leading role and the defense of socialism.

MUNDO OBRERO, the Spanish Communist Party organ, assesses that in Poland it is necessary to clear up definitively the basic structures of the so-called real socialism functioning in the country. It is pointed out that the congress marked the end of a stage in the life of the Polish party.

Sundic Comments

LD201624 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress has come out fully in favor of the line of democratic renewal and has elected men of trust to key positions in the party leadership. The election of the new Central Committee and of the Politburo in fact represents the most significant event in the history of the Polish party and the biggest attainment of the extraordinary congress. The confidence placed by the congress in the new leadership led by Stanislaw Kania is the first and the biggest guarantee that the Polish Communists will find a way out of the crisis in which the country currently finds itself. The fact that the congress dealt more with the past than with the present only confirms what the Poles in any case have been conscious of: that without a complete correction of numerous lapses and mistakes whose consequences are felt by the Polish working class, they will not be able to go on to a better and more secure future.

The Poles are aware of the fact that they will not live much better tomorrow than has been the case during the past few months, but against this they can hope and believe that they have sized up the road along which they must go. It is the road which offers a way out of the crisis. The leadership has been empowered to do everything it can in this direction with the proviso that for everthing it does it is responsible to the party and to the working class as a whole.

Having learned from the negative experience in the past the Polish Communists this time did not give up their right to take on the obligations and responsibility for the future of the country. The people who have been given the confidence to carry out the congress decisions will find it therefore easier to do so, but it must be admitted that it will not be easy tomorrow for anyone.

During the preparations for the congress and before that, too, much was written and said about the future of democratic renewal in Poland. At one time it was thought that the ninth extraordinary congress would not be held. The pressure on Poland, that is to say on leading party and state personalities, was strong both from within and without. The objective was to replace both Kania and Jaruzelski and to put off the congress until the time was more appropriate.

Now, however, that the congress has been held, and new people have been elected to the Central Committee, it can be said unequivocally that the opponents of the new line in Poland itself have suffered a total setback. The middle-of-the-road line has won, as the Poles say, the line which many people rightly call the Polish way of socialism. This is no longer the way of a handful of people, but the path of the PZPR as a whole. Hence the question as to whether in the wake of the congress Polish Communists will be understood and accepted by their allies of whether their behavior will remain unchanged. There is also the question whether the dogmatic forces will bow to congress decisions.

The short and rather curt message of congratulations which Leonid Brezhnev addressed to Satnislaw Kania from the Black Sea Coast could be the first intimation that Poland's allies will adopt a more flexible attitude toward the Polish leadership and that they will doubt less Polish loyalty to allied commitments which no one at the congress queried. If this assumption proves to be correct and if the Polish allies accept the fact that Poland, in opting for a new line, has not betrayed socialism, this, without a doubt, would be the biggest possible help to Polish Communists to get out of the present difficulties. Any other conduct would plunge Poland and its party into fresh troubles with unforeseeable consequences.

TANJUG ON PUNISHMENT OF SOVIET MINISTRY OFFICIALS

LD172046 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1804 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--Soviet Assistant Minister of Electric Power Development and Electrification N. Ivantsov has been dismissed from his post because of "gross violation of state discipline and deception". Ivantsov, who was directly in charge of the sector for the construction of hydro-electric power stations, informed the leadership that a generation unit of the Kolima power station in the Magadan region had been completed. He allowed it to be put into operation although uncompleted. Extensive damage was caused and the power plant was out of operation for four months.

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party has also called to account the minister of electric power development and electrification, the first secretary of the Magadan regional party committee and others responsible. The minister and the first secretary were criticized while the first deputy minister was reprimanded. The decisions were published in the latest edition of the party review PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN. The review writes that the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has repeatedly warned the heads of ministries and other institutions as well as party organs and the authorities that it was essential to resolutely halt "all attempts at deceiving the party and state." All manifestations "alien to the socialist principles of economic operation" must be eradicated as they inflict "major economic and socio-political damage", it was said. The party Central Committee once again called the attention of all state and party bodies to the necessity of a "uncompromising struggle" against false representation and the "taking of undue credit".

DRAGAN HOLDS TALKS WITH IRAQI PRESIDENT SADDAM

LD172044 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 17 Jul 81

["Pool" item]

[Text] Baghdad, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--Iraqi President Saddam Husayn today received Yugoslav Vice-Premier Zvone Dragan, who is here to attend the celebration of the 13th anniversary of the Iraqi revolution. On that occasion Zvone Dragan conveyed to President Husayn congratulations and best wishes of the Yugoslav Government for the further progress and prosperity of the Iraqi people.

At long and cordial talks, in which Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council 'Izzat Ibrahim and Minister of Trade Hasan 'Ali took part on the Iraqi side, it was noted that the overall relations between the two countries have reached a very high level. The two sides expressed wishes and interests in continuing this cooperation on foundations of still longer range and of higher quality.

Considering the international political situation, Saddam Husayn and Zvone Dragan focused their attention on further actions connected with holding of the seventh summit of the non-aligned countries in Baghdad next year, events in this region and possibilities of finding a peaceful solution for the Iraqi-Iranian conflict.

The two sides expressed concern over the general deterioration of the political and economic situation in various parts of the world and their readiness to invest, within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations organization, further efforts for the elimination of focuses of crisis and for overcoming of such situation.

The Saddam Husayn-Zvone Dragan talks also covered Israel's recent aggression against the nuclear centre near Baghdad. Full agreement was reached in condemnation of such acts and on the need to create conditions in non-aligned and developing coutries to use without being disturbed nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. It was also emphasized that in the broadest international field active commitment is necessary to prevent Israel's expansionist policy.

Yugoslav Vice Premier Zvone Dragan today held friendly talks of some length also with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz. During the meeting stress was laid on the preparations for the forthcoming summit of the non-aligned countries and activities of the non-aligned, as well as on current questions and problems in this region.

Talks End

LD190734 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and Iraq today expressed satisfaction with the high level of mutual economic cooperation and announced new joint ventures in Iraq in the electric power, construction and manufacturing industries.

Yugoslav Vice Premier Zvone Dragan held separate talks with Iraqi Ministers of Industry and Minerals Tahir at-Tawfiq, of Housing and Construction Muhammad Fadil and of the Interior Sa'dun Shakir. During the talks, possibilities were examined for promoting joint ventures.

Iraq ranks among Yugoslavia's major trade partners. Over 10,000 Yugoslav workers and experts currently work in Iraq.

Yugoslav Vice-Premier Zvone Dragan returns to Belgrade this evening from the visit to Baghdad where he attended the celebration of the Iraqi revolution anniversary.

PRC PROVINCE DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN VOJVODINA

AU172059 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] Novi Sad--Nikola Kmezic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and Yu Ke, governor of the Jilin provincial government of the PRC, noted in their talks--during a 2-day visit of a delegation of this Chinese province to Vojvodina--that broad opportunities exist for mutual long-term economic cooperation.

The first experiences gained in cooperation in organizing an experimental field in the Chinese Province of Jilin for growing high-yield crops were assessed positively. It was concluded that this cooperation should be expanded to growing other crops--sugar beets, sunflowers and corn--in the fields of this province. In addition, after a test period a longer-term program of cooperation between Vojvodina businessmen and those of the Chinese Province of Jilin should be drawn up.

ALGERIAN DELEGATION VISITS TITOGRAD 14 JUL

AU170732 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 81 p 7

[Text] Titograd--Hadj Yala, member of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, minister in the Algerian Government and chairman of the Algerian part of the mixed Yugoslav-Algerian Committee for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation, who is heading a delegation of this friendly country on a 2-day visit to Yugoslavia, visited Montenegro yesterday. The Algerian official was received in Titograd the previous evening by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. On that occasion, they exchanged views on the results achieved in bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and Algeria, especially in connection with the talks between the president of the Federal Executive Council and Algerian Prime Minister Abdelghani.

During the talks, significant success was noted in the cooperation between the two nonaligned friendly countries, especially in trade and in the field of investment. The talks touched on current problems of international relations, and it was jointly noted that the situation in some crisis regions is deteriorating and that greater involvement is necessary to solve the burning issues.

Views were also exchanged on the activities undertaken by Algeria and Yugoslavia to ensure the unity of the nonaligned countries and to strengthen their role in finding ways for a peaceful solution of current problems in the world.

Hadj Yala was received yesterday by Vojo Srzentic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, and by Radivoje Brajovic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

The Algerian delegation visited some work collectives in Montenegro (the Radoje Dakic construction machines manufacture, the aluminum combine and the Obod electrical engineering plant) which plan to develop business cooperation with Algerian firms.

ASSEMBLY GROUP CONDEMNS BRUSSELS EMBASSY ATTACK

AU191950 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1135 GMT 15 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jul (TANJUG)--The Foreign Policy Committee of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Federal Chamber today most sharply condemned yesterday's terrorist attack on the Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels, in which embassy counsellor Blagoje Anakioski and employee Franc Spindler were gravely wounded.

The committee stated the ultimate dissatisfaction over a series of terrorist attacks on Yugoslav missions and associations of Yugoslav citizens in Belgium. The competent Belgian organs, despite all warnings, have failed to take the necessary measures called for by the gravity of the situation, it was stated at the committee session.

The responsibility for the tolerating of the terrorist activity of the anti-Yugoslav emigration rests with the Belgian Government which has not, in keeping with international rules and obligations, taken to protect the missions and citizens of a friendly country, it was underlined. [sentence as received]

The committee decided to contact the foreign policy commissions of the Belgian Parliament so that the highest representation of the Belgian people would examine the emerged situation and seek the taking of urgent measures for the prevention of the terrorist activity against the Yugoslav missions and citizens.

Categoric measures on the part of the competent Belgian organs, it was underlined, would contribute to eliminating the serious negative consequences which the tolerating of such terrorist activity has inflicted to Yugoslav-Belgian friendly relations and cooperation.

BELGRADE COURT TEMPORARILY RELEASES SERBIAN POET

PM171300 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Jul 81 p 3

[Paul Yankovitch dispatch: "Poet Djogo temporarily released"]

[Text] Belgrade--Following its hearing on 8 July the Belgrade Regional Court ordered the conditional release of Serbian poet Gojko Djogo, who is charged with "insulting" the memory of Tito in a collection of poems entitled "Wooly Times." Since a witness regarded as important was unable to appear for health reasons, the rest of the trial was postponed until 16 September--in other words, until the courts resume work after the vacation.

The trial aroused strong feelings. The court was packed during all the hearings and many writers, poets, teachers, painters and students were present. Without wishing to predict what might happen after 16 September, it should be noted that this is the first time that somebody charged with a serious political offense, already imprisoned and morally condemned by social organizations and the press, has been released. It is true that this is a temporary measure, that there is a real chance of the proceedings taking an entirely different turn from the one they had taken when the poet was arrested.

All the witnesses who have appeared belong to the staff of Prosveta, the publishing house which produced Mr Djogo's book. With one exception--that of the director of a section of Prosveta, who maintained that "Wooly Times" "contained harmful political elements"--none of the witnesses sided with the prosecution. Mr Branislav Petrovic, a prominent poet responsible for editing poetical works at Prosveta, stated categorically: "It was I who read and approved the Djogo manuscript. After I had read it I considered it to be an excellent piece of poetic creation, and I maintain that viewpoint. It is being given a meaning which it does not have." "Mr (Djadzitch), chief editor and a well-known literary critic, admitted that he had doubts about some poems, but that was a personal opinion which did not claim to be a final and irrevocable verdict. In any case he expressed surprise that Mr Djogo had been arrested when the affair could have been settled by the Prosveta editorial board.

Mr (Komnenitch), a poet, translator and one of Prosveta's editors, suggested that the intervention by the political authorities had created some malaise in the publishing house, preventing objective analysis of the book. "Literary works," he concluded, "concern literary criticism and not political forums."

The decision to release the accused was greeted with applause in the courtroom.

LCY COMMISSION DISCUSSES POLITICAL REPORT

LD171956 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--At the session today, of the LCY Central Committee commission for the compilation of the draft political report on the work of the LCY Central Committee, with Stane Dolanc in the chair, along with certain supplements and suggestions, the part of the report was adopted which deals with the League of Communists role in the development of the political system of socialist self-management. The basic assessment is that after the 11th congress to a certain extent the (?coordination) of the political system with the socioenomic relations [words indistinct] which stem from the constitution and the law on associated labor. However, the assessment of the situation in the political system should also be approached from the point of view of the extent and kind of possibilities and further development.

All speakers in the debate noted that the basic weakness of the League of Communists lay in the fact that it was not always able to raise itself above individual and narrow interests. The fact is, it was stated, that there are less and less problems regarding the manifestation of interests but that what manifests itself increasingly as a weakness is the lack of organization to have these interests formed as general and joint interests. It is in this sphere in fact that the question of implementing the League of Communists role in the delegate system is raised.

Members of the commission believe that the report should be supplemented also with an analysis of the implementation of the role of the executive and administration organs. This should be done in particular because the League of Communists has not up to now dealt in greater detail with these questions and yet problems are considerable. In the same vein, greater attention should be paid to the implementation of intranational relations. Often, it was noted, there is talk of nationalism as a phenomenon which is outside the League of Communists while the events in Kosovo, and not they alone, have shown that there is nationalism also in party ranks.

Petar Matic reported to those present on behalf of the working group which had prepared the part of the report on the League of Communists activity in all-people's defense and social self-protection. It was noted that, despite all the shortcomings, significant results had been achieved in this sphere. Nevertheless, what is subject to criticism is the fact that relevant organs have not always made realistic and timely assessments of the security and political situation in the country or in some of its parts. The most recent example of this is Kosovo.

The only way out of this is for the committees for all-people's defense being more outward looking and thus basing their estimates on facts and not on some papers or even on somebody's wishes.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM HOLDS SESSION

LD171058 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The LCY Central Committee Presidium held a session on 15 July in the presence of the highest ranking officials of the federal organs and organizations. It considered the implementation of the conclusions adopted at the 15th session of the LCY Central Committee with regard to the ideopolitical questions of Yugoslavia's development from 1981 to 1985 and the tasks of the League of Communists.

The introductory speech was made by Andrej Marinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Appraising the activities undertaken in carrying out the thinking of the 15th session of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium noted that despite the results which are being achieved the economic situation continues to cause concern, and that economic problems are still being resolved with insufficient effectiveness and the policy of stabilization is being inconsistently implemented.

The Presidium stressed that the third congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia and the direct role of the SFRY Presidency in the settling of topical economic problems have introduced new significant elements into political action aimed at achieving economic stablization and the goals set by Yugoslavia's social plan. It is necessary to increase the interest of the working people and to step up the resolute actions of the subjective social forces in order to normalize relations in the course of the current economic development.

The Presidium stressed that it is a vital task of all communists and organizations of the League of Communists to eliminate the differences between the social plan for Yugoslavia as a common policy of development and the plans of the republics and the autonomous provinces. This means that all the plans should be urgently considered, corrected and brought into line with the real financial and material possibilities.

The Presidium deems that it is necessary to harmonize views on a number of unsolved questions as early as possible and to agree on solutions aimed at improving the banking, credit and monetary system, the system of economic relations with foreign countries and the foreign exchange system.

The Presidium decided that at one of its forthcoming sessions it should see what has been done in concrete terms to implement the conclusion of the 15th session of the LCY Central Committee.

LCY EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES DISCUSS ECONOMIC POLICY

LD172026 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--There is no more either time or room for any verbalistic and facultative attitude of League members to the country's economic stabilization policy. Unless the League of Communists of Yugoslavia starts a resolute differentiation to determine those who act contrary to the adopted stands, the already serious economic situation might become even worse.

This warning was voiced here today at a meeting of Executive Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Pavie Gazi and the executive secretaries of the republics and provincial League of Communists Central Committee presidencies. The executive secretaries discussed the progress made in implementing the decisions adopted at the 15th session of the LCY Central Committee which determined the tasks in realizing the country's economic policy.

The reports by the Leagues of Communists in the republics and provinces give the impression that some environments have not yet fully comprehended the seriousness of the situation, Gazi stated. There is too much talk about the errors of others and little or nothing at all about one's own inactivity.

Speaking about political preparations for the 12th Congress of the LCY, Gazi said that the strengthening of the League's action and ideological capability was being set as a priority task. The party organs and forums should discuss not only figures showing economic trends but also the League's responsibility in the system, i.e. the quality of actions undertaken and their results. Of course, Gazi added, we cannot discuss only the responsibility of the League because we also have state and self-management institutions in which communists work.

CHAMBER OF REPUBLICS, PROVINCES CONCLUSIONS

LD171102 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces is in agreement with the assessments contained in the report by the Federal Executive Council. It expressed support for the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency on the great material and social problems connected with the implementation of Yugoslavia's social plan for the period 1981-85. In this connection, it points out that such assessments also appeared in the assessments and conclusions adopted by the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, especially in connection with the adoption of the present 5-year plan and resolution. The Chamber considers that the basic economic and social aims and tasks of the plan determined by the resolution for 1981 are not being implemented, especially as regards economic stabilization and development of self-management so that economic and social problems are becoming increasingly more difficult in 1981.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces considers that all protagonists of planning must resolutely strive for the implementation of agreed measures and for the adoption of new measures--economic, political and administrative--to ensure the implementation of Yugoslavia's social plan this year. The responsibility of all sociopolitical communities and other subjects to undertake measures for the elimination of basic disruptions and problems must be increased. The Chamber emphasizes that the Federal Executive Council has special obligations in the preparation of legal and other measures for intervening in economic trends in order to implement the economic and social policy this year. In this sense, the Chamber concludes:

The organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations with the support of the sociopolitical communities must undertake all measures to achieve the rate of growth and structure of production envisaged by the resolution in keeping with the need to increase exports, to supply the domestic market and to rationalize imports.

In order to improve our country's position in economic relations with foreign countries:

1. It is essential that all measures of economic policy and the entire behavior are aimed at increasing the exports of goods and services, primarily of more highly finished goods and other products based on greater participation of domestic resources, know-how and technology in all fields, and decreasing the deficit in the balance of payments and the level of the country's indebtedness. Additional efforts and measures must be undertaken to speed up the exports to areas with convertible foreign currency.

2. The implementation of the projected balance of payments and foreign exchange and the positions concerning the balance of payments and foreign exchange balance is an obligation for which special responsibility is borne, apart from the federation, by the republics and provinces, self-managing interest communities for economic relations with foreign countries, and organizations of associated labor. The Federal Executive Council and the National Bank of Yugoslavia are dutybound to prevent the acceptance of applications for imports above the proportions of the balance of payments and to see that payment for imported goods is in keeping with the achieved income in foreign currency and within the framework of the agreed deficit in the balance of payments. The responsibility of the bearers of debts toward foreign countries to fulfill their obligations in a regular and priority manner will be intensified. In this connection, the National Bank of Yugoslavia will undertake within the framework of its rights and duties firm measures to see that these subjects regularly fulfill their obligations. The National Bank of Yugoslavia is responsible for retaining the level of foreign short-term credits (?contracted) in 1981 within the determined frameworks.

3. In keeping with the implementation of the policy of stabilization and the pronounced need for savings, all subjects of society are obliged to prepare programs and to undertake energetic measures to achieve rational imports which must be oriented toward increasing exports and supplying the market and toward a corresponding reduction in the national outflow of foreign currency.

4. The disharmony in relations between goods and money supply continues and this is exerting powerful pressure on the production costs, growth and disruptions in the relations between prices and the cost of living.

It is essential that all protagonists of decisions elaborate and undertake measures to eliminate deeper causes of disruptions on the market and inflation of prices, in order to create in the shortest possible time conditions for the functioning of market laws and for the consistent application of the law on the price system.

In conditions of high price rises and other market disruptions, it is indispensable to have measures for direct control of prices and that all economic and political subjects consistently apply these measures.

In the given market situation, it is necessary to take measures which will bring about a more favorable global and structural harmony in goods-money relations, a gradual reduction of the [word indistinct] pressure of the cost of joint and general expenditure which burdens material production and encourages inflation, and the gradual elimination, on the basis of a special program, of the very pronounced disruption in price relations. It is also necessary to take other measures which will have a direct anti-inflationary character. (Especially as regards the preservation of the real value of social means of production, credits, interest rates, recovery of losses and so on.)

In the field of credit-monetary policy there are still great problems as regards the fulfillment of aims and tasks of Yugoslavia's social plan this year. And since the measures in this field are not sufficiently efficacious, this field is a hotbed of inflation. The following is therefore necessary:

1. The primary issue will be used for final expenditure only for obligations determined by Yugslavia's social plan for the period 1981-1985 in keeping with the resolution of 1981, and the payment of credits from the primary issue will be ensured.

2. It is necessary to resolutely increase the responsibility of business banks in the field of investment activity with the aim of preventing investment decisions which go beyond the actually ensured resources. It is necessary to ensure a more realistic relationship between investments in working capital and investments in assets, as well as increased proper participation in investments in assets.

3. It is necessary as speedily as possible to introduce a policy of interest rates which will enable interest to have a more active effect on the stabilization of economic developments, more rational utilization of financial resources and more effective deployment of the available resources.

The further drop in the real incomes of the working people should be halted by raising work productivity and keeping down the cost of economic activities. The standard of living of workers on the lowest wages should be protected by social policy measures.

The setting aside of funds for joint and general consumption in excess of limits envisaged in the resolution for this year worsens the material conditions in associated labor and encourages inflation. Owing to this it is indispensable to have mechanisms which will ensure that these forms of consumption are maintained at a level which will prevent the formation of surplus funds outside the economy, in excess of the limits set in the resolution for 1981.

The appropriate organs in the republics and provinces will adopt effective measures aimed at keeping investment within the limits set by the availability of resources and at channelling accumulation on the basis of the priorities defined in the plan, especially the speedier completion of projects which will ensure higher production and, above all, increase export and reduce import. Investors, banks and the organs of the sociopolitical communities should reexamine the justifiability of all the current investments and halt the construction of projects when this is required on the basis of the orientations in the social plan for Yugoslavia.

The Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the republics and provinces should ensure the conditions needed for and adopt measures aimed at speedily and effectively securing cooperation on the measures and acts adopted by the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces in cooperation with the assemblies of the republics and provinces.

The Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the republics and provinces should ensure speedier and more effective consultations on all questions which are the subject of agreement-seeking between the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the republics and provinces and the other signatories to the agreement.

The Federal Executive Council should set the maximum time limits for the reaching of accords unless these time limits have already been set in the appropriate decisions of the SFRY Assembly.

The Federal Executive Coucncil, the republics, the provinces and the Economic Chamber and other subjects will finalize within the established time limits all the accords and the appropriate self-managing agreements connected with questions arising from the social plan for Yugoslavia. During consultations on those questions the Federal Executive Council will report to the Chamber exhaustively on the progress made and provide it with analytical documents adopted in the course of the preparations for the 1982 resolution.

The Chamber endorsed the attitude of the Federal Executive Council according to which the conditions affecting the carrying out of the plan in 1982 will essentially depend on the success of this year's economic policy or, in other words, on the effectiveness of the measures which are now being adopted with the aim of carrying out this year's tasks.

The Chamber also endorsed the view according to which the framework within which the 1982 resolutions would be prepared should be provided by the real socioeconomic situation, Yugoslavia's social plan, consultations and self-managing agreement defining everybody's obligations in this year of the plan, and by the indispensable dynamism of economic growth and the further efforts made toward economic stabilization. The economic policies in the federation and in the republics and the provinces should be reoriented toward establishing and tackling priority tasks and completing important investment projects and toward boosting the qualitative factors of economic activity.

The policy of socioeconomic development should in 1982 be based on:

1. The consistent implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, in which connection concrete measures should be adopted to ensure the implementation of this policy. It is necessary to establish more harmonious goods-money relations and bring all the forms of consumption into line with the available social product or, in other words, income.

2. The strengthening of the economy's export capability and higher export, especially to the convertible area and reducing the balance of payments deficit and indebtedness to foreign countries.

3. A substantial reduction in the growth of prices and inflation;

4. Fuller effects of the economic laws and market criteria of economic activity;

5. The realization of a dynamism of growth in keeping with the policy of economic stabilization and the possibilities for keeping imports within the limits set by the resources earned by exporting and on the basis of our balance of payments possibilities.

All the measures which are related to the resolution for 1982 should be finalized at the same time as the resolution, so that the organization of associated labor would by the end of the year have at their disposal all the basic measures and instruments of economic policy. In this connection it is necessary, in keeping with the principle of [word indistinct] planning, to ensure a coordinated approach to the work on the preparation of the resolution for 1982 by means of adopting a ompanying measures at the federal level and in the republics and the provinces.

Consultations between the republics and provinces, economic chambers and associations of producers should lead to concrete programs aimed at ensuring a better utilization of capacities in the next year and at a more substantial increase in production, substantial increase in exports next year and at other tasks on which depend both the process of stabilization and the prospects for the realization of the current medium-term plan.

The Chamber again stresses that the decisive factors in this policy are the organizations of associated labor, the creation and control of income by the organizations of associated labor and stability with regard to the definition of the conditions of economic activity.

FEDERAL CHAMBER REPORT ON ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

LD181658 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0836 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG) At its session on 15 July this year, the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly considered the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

Proceeding from the assessments of the SFRY Presidency on the economic situation and economic trends in our country, the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency on the immediate tasks in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, the speech by the vice president of the SFRY Presidency, the speech by the president of the Federal Executive Council in the SFRY Assembly on the implementation of Yugoslavia's social plan for the period 1981-85 in 1981, coupled with the assessment of possibilities of development in 1982, the resolution of the third congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia and the discussion in the working bodies of the Chamber and at the session of the Chamber, the Federal Chamber adopted within the framework of competences of the SFRY assembly and its won the following conclusions:

1. The Federal Chamber agrees with the assessments and stances of the SFRY Presidency on the topical economic situation and economic trends in our coutry and with the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency on the immediate tasks in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

The Federal Chamber considers that the economic situation in the country is very serious and complex because the basic aims and tasks determined by the resolution on the policy of implementation of Yugoslavia's social plan for the period 1981-85 in 1981 are not being fulfilled.

The present activities and measures undertaken in the implementation of the agreed economic policy have not given the expected results, so that the basic economic trends continue to be unfavorable.

This is above all reflected in disruptions in the social reproduction, high level of inflation, deficit of the balance of payments, increased cost of living and so on. This is also due to the stagnation in the development of socialist self-managing relations, slowness and inconsistency in the application of solutions appertaining to the system, suppression of objective economic laws, violation of unity of the Yugoslav market, still low productivity, excessive growth of investment, general and joint expenditure and so on. The reasons for this also lie in insufficient consistency and responsibility in the implementation of agreed development and stabilization policy, laws, other provisions and general acts, as well as agreements, social agreements and self-management agreements.

2. Proceeding from the obligations and tasks in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, the Federal Chamber's main activity will be continously to follow the implementation of the determined policy and federal laws. other provisions and general acts, as well as to determine the policy of implementation of these acts and obligations of the Federal Executive Council and federal organs and organizations in this connection.

The Federal Chamber will more resolutely and fully exercise political control over the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal organs of administration, as well as social control over the work of certain organs and self-managing organizations and communities in the federation.

To carry out these functions, the Federal Chamber will ask the Federal Executive Council federal administrative organs and corresponding organs and organizations in the federation regularly and in good time to report on the situation and measures which are being taken in individual fields and on the results of these measures, as well as to propose the necessary measures.

The Federal Chamber will speed up the work on the adoption of system-related laws on expanded reproduction and past work, on the bases of pension and disablement insurance and on the bases of the social system of information. The Chamber will analyze and assess the results achieved in the application of the already adopted laws which are important for the implementation of the development and stabilization policy and for further develpment of self-managing socioeconomic relations, and will undertake measures to create the necessary conditions for their most full, consistent and efficacious application. At the same time, the Chamber will study the need for changes and addenda to these laws.

At a next session, the Chamber will consider the present results of the implementation of intervention laws which it had adopted and which refer to the limitation of the use of social resources in the field of investment, general and joing expenditure, construction of energy projects using liquid fuel and so on.

The Federal Chamber and its working bodies will prepare an analysis of the conlusions adopted so far by the Chamber in respect to the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, assess their present implementation and undertake measures for their consistent implementation.

3. In order to determine its tasks in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, the Federal Chamber will reexamine the programs and plans of its work and determine its priority tasks.

The chamber obligates its working bodies to propose at a next session of the Chamber the changes which should be carried out in the programs and plans of work of the Chamber.

4. With regard to the implementation of immediate tasks connected with the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, the Federal Chamber:

(A) Especially emphasizes that it is indispensable to ensure the functioning of a united Yugoslav market and the agreed determined system of functioning of goods' reserves, and to this end to undertake the necessary measures for the elimination of causes which undermine the unity of this market. In this connection, the Chamber will analyze the implementation of laws adopted in this field and, on the basis of the present experience, assess the need for adopting new measures, as well as laws, which will ensure the functioning of the united Yugoslav market.

(B) After carrying out revisions in the field of investments, the Federal Chamber will assess the need for adopting laws which will limit the use of the part of social resources meant for the financing of expanded social reproduction.

The social accountancy service and other competent organs and services are dutybound to ensure consistent implementation of the adopted provisions in connection with investments, efficaciously to follow the investment expenditure and construction of projects, as well as regularly to inform the organs of self-management and the assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

(C) The growth of general and joint expenditure must be retained within the frameworks determined by the resolution for this year. To this end, it is necessary that competent organs in all sociopolitical communities adopt as soon as possible decisions which will reduce the rate of taxation and contributions in order to avoid creating surplus in the income of sociopolitical communities and self-managing interest communities.

It is necessary to achieve economy and reduction in the budget expenditure of all socio-economic communities. When preparing the budget of the federation for 1982, it is necessary to reexamine budget expenditure of all users of the federal budget and plan its further reduction in relation to the growth of income. At the same time it is also necessary to reexamine the programs of noneconomic investments in the federation.

(D) It considers that it is indispensable to solve the present problems in the field of economic relations with foreign countries and still more consistently and efficaciously to implement our orientation toward intensification of exports and retention of the balance of payments within the planned frameworks. A comprehensive study must be carried out with regard to the entire regional distribution of our economic relations with foreign countries. At the same time, the Chamber demands consistent implementation of the conclusions of the SFRY Assembly chambers on economic relations with foreign countries.

In our further development, we must orient ourselves more toward the development of our own science and technology and in this connection adopt in good time the agreement on the strategy of technological development.

(E) It insists that together with an increased struggle for economic stabilization, the organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and sociopolitical communities should grasp all social problems which will necessarily arise.

In this respect, it is necessary to determine measures for an urgent solution of these problems on the basis of solidarity and social security of the working people.

In this connection, the Chamber considers that it is also indispensable to engage all social factors to find possibilities for faster employment of young people.

5. The Federal Chamber supports the acts and measures adopted so far by the Federal Executive Council in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

Within its constitutional competencies, powers and responsibilities, the Federal Executive Council should firmly and without hesitation ensure further implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, follow the results of adopted measures and in good time adopt and propose additional measures with the purpose of implementing this policy.

The Federal Executive Council must regularly and comprehensively inform the Federal Chamber on the situation, phenomena, problems and measures undertaken in this field.

The Federal Executive Council must regularly inform the SFRY Assembly chambers on the difficulties it meets in the process of agreement-making. In this respect, it must especially point out the cases and reasons for difficulties to find joint interests and decisions, as well as to implement the already adopted decisions and agreements.

In order to achieve fuller political control and insight of the Federal Chamber into the work of the federal administrative organs and other federal organs and organizations, as well as to intensify direct responsibility of these organs and organizations before the SFRY Assembly, it is necessary that all these organs and organizations directly and regularly inform the Federal Chamber about their work and their tasks and problems connected with the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

6. The Federal Chamber considers that it is indispensable to promote and make more efficacious the system of agreement-making between the republics and autonomous provinces regarding their joint interests in the federation, as well as to ensure the influence of associated labor, organized in a self-managing manner, in the process of agreement-making on the basic questions of the country's development.

In the SFRY Assembly, while coordinating the stances and interests in the adoption of laws and other general acts and in the implementation of adopted acts and determined agreements, it is necessary to concretely to point out the stances and interests advocated by individual participants in the agreement-making and determination of joint policy, why is there a holdup in the process of agreement-making and who is not carrying out the adopted policy and decisions. The widest social public should be regularly informed about this.

All organs and organizations in the federation are obliged to achieve in their work the fullest and the most direct possible cooperation with corresponding organs in the republics and autonomous provinces in order to carry out in the most successfully possible manner jointly agreed and determined policy and thus to contribute to the strengthening of our socialist self-managing togetherness.

7. The Federal Chamber points out that the struggle for constitutionality and legality is the duty of all organs of authority and self-management and all self-managing organizations and communities.

The Chamber especially emphasizes the obligation of the organs of judiciary, social accountancy service, customs, inspection service and other control services to uncompromisingly and consistently undertake all legal and other measures to eliminate illegal phenomena and economic offenses which violate legality in the economy, especially regarding the market and prices, and undermine the policy of economic stabilization. They are obliged in good time to inform the Chamber about the phenomena and problems which they meet in connection with the preparation of laws and other provisions, about political pressure which is applied to them and about the reasons for illegal conduct, and to propose corresponding measures.

The Chamber will consider the implementation and development of social self-protection and determine a program of measures and actions for its still more successful development as a function of socialist self-management.

8. The Federal Chamber will firmly strive for the strengthening of responsibility of all organs and bearers of self-managing, public and other social functions who are directly responsible for the implementation of aims and tasks emanating from the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

It is necessary to take to task all organs, organizations and individuals who do not carry out the tasks and obligations assumed in the implementation of determined policy and laws and other general acts related to the policy of economic stabilization. This must also include extreme measures of recall and removal from self-managing, public and other social functions entrusted to them. This especially applies to inconsistency and slowness in agreement-making and to the failure to carry out accepted obligations and agreements and their constitutional and legal powers and obligations.

In order for the personal and collective responsibility of all self-managing and social subjects in our sociopolitical system to become an integral part of the entire social action in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, it is necessary to reexamine corresponding laws and other general acts and self-management general acts of the self-managing organizations and communities in order to determine the kind and conditions of responsibility, as well as the procedure to implement the responsibility of all bearers of social functions. Parallel with this, it is necessary to create conditions and premises for grasping, determining and implementing the responsiblity in every concrete case.

In this respect, it is necessary to consistently make public the work of the organs of authority and self-management, to develop a critical attitude toward work and decisions of individual organs and organizations, to develop forms of social control and to carry out in an organized and efficacious manner all forms and measures of the widest possible social control.

9. The Federal Chamber points out that consistent implementation of the policy of economic stabilization can and must be achieved by direct engagement of all subjects of the sociopolitical system of socialist self-management. To this end, it is indispensable that all organizations and communities, their delegations and delegates, assemblies of the sociopolitical communities and their organs and all organized socialist forces determine the priority tasks in this field and the protagonists of their implementation, adopt corresponding decisions and undertake all necessary measures for a consistent implementation of the adopted decisions and agreements concerning the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

Expressing the interests of the working people, organized in self-managing organizations and communities and in sociopolitical organizations, the Federal Chamber emphasizes that the delegations of the basic organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities must bring about--by means of conferences of delegations and other forms of linking the delegations on the basis of work and othe common interests or interests in their sociopolitical community--wider agreements on direct activities concerning the implementation of common interests in the execution of the policy of economic stabilization. To this end, the delegates of the Federal Chamber too must take part in the conferences of delegations and delegates and in the discussion of the basic questions and tasks of the policy of economic stabilization and contribute in a responsible way to their solution.

The fullest and most consistent functioning of the entire delegate system is especially important for the achievement of aims and tasks of the policy of economic stabilization. To this end, it is necessary that all social factors and especially the organized socialist forces make efforts to overcome numerous shortcomings in this system which are above all reflected in the widespread practice of having the decisions, which are within the competence of self-managing and delegate decisionmaking, in fact adopted outside the delegate system.

As far as the assembly manner of work and decisionmaking are concerned, it is necessary to faster and more resolutely overcome the practice whereby the policy is still proposed and the decisions mainly prepared in the executive and administrative organs and not in the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities and in the delegate system.

This is also due to certain shortcomings in the work and engagement of delegates in the performance of their functions, above all with regard to the need to express authentic interests, needs, stances and proposals of the self-managing organizations and communities and their delegations when it comes to proposing the pôlicy and acts, to grasp more fully the joint and general social interests and to be more directly engaged in the implementation of the determined policy and adopted acts.

10. Within the framework of its work, the Federal Chamber will continually follow and consider questions within its competence which are important for the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, proceeding from these conclusions and bearing in mind the proposals and views expressed in the reports by the working bodies and during the discussion at the meeting of the Chamber.

The Federal Chamber will also in the future be open to all initiatives and proposals which concern its activity in connection with the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization and which are moved and submitted by self-managing organizations and communities. Their delegations and delegates and organized socialist forces, as well by the scientical and technical thought.

KOSOVO SAWP CONDEMNS EMBASSY ATTACK IN BELGIUM

LD171946 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--At its session here today, the Presidency of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo strongly condemned the escalation of terrorist anti-Yugoslav activities in Belgium, especially the terrorist attack on the Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels. This terrorist act constitutes a serious violation of international law and a serious blow to the good and friendly relations existing between Yugoslavia and Belgium, the Presidency underlined. It recalled that the terrorist anti-Yugoslav activities in Belgium had over a short period reached an unprecedented level. This has caused the deep indignation among all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, all the more so as it is a well-known fact that the Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels had given timely warning and repeatedly asked Belgium to take energetic measures to prevent the systematic subversive activities and attacks by emigre terrorist, fascist and other hostile groups against the lives and property of Yugoslav diplomatic missions and citizens in Belgium.

As the further toleration of hostile, subversive and terrorist anti-Yugoslav activities could seriously affect the traditionally good relations and cooperation between the two countries, the Presidency of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo considers that Belgium must immediately take effective measures for the earliest possible detection and punishment of the perpetrators of this act. It must also resôlutely prevent the further activities of terrorist, fascist and other hostile groups and individuals who have lately been acting against Yugoslavia in an organized and systematic manner. In this way, Belgium would also contribute to the struggle against terrorism in the world and this is in the interests of the Belgian people too, says the protest of the Presidency of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance.

KOSOVO COMMUNISTS VIEW UNIVERSITY'S STABILIZATION

LD182002 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--It was announced in Pristina today that at its session last night chaired by Veli Deva, the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium discussed the report on the present activity on the stabilization of the overall situation at Pristina University.

The Presidium made the assessment that recently the work of the League of Communists, of self-management organs and of other structures in the faculties and in schools of higher education and also in the office of the university rector has been intensified. However, the need was stressed for further intensifying the activity, especially of the League of Communists basic organizations, in order to deepen further the process of ideopolitical differentiation in all schools of higher education, in faculties and at the university as a whole. It was also noted that in the ensuing period it is necessary to step up the efforts to carry out consistently all the tasks which stem from the action program of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee whereby a lasting stabilization of the state of affairs at the university should be ensured.

The presidium indicated the need for a resolute struggle by the League of Communists and other subjects in the faster elimination of superficiality, formalism, inconsistency, opportunism, delays and other shorcomings which, especially in some faculties, slow down the efficiency of political action on settling the situation in the faculties.

It was stressed that special attention should be paid to the solution of specific questions and problems which are of vital significance for a successful beginning of the new school year.

BUJANOVAC LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS EXPELS MEMBERS

LD172122 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Bujanovac, 17 Jul (TANJUN)--Because individual members of the League of Communists, who are educational workers, have not shown an unequivocal readiness in the process of ideological and political differentiation to commit themselves to the policy of the League of Communists and to a consistent denunciation of counterrevolution and participants in the recent demonstrations in Kosovo, the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Bujanovac today adopted the decision to dissolve the basic organization of the League of Communists in the primary school in Veliki Trnovac and the basic organization of the League of Communists in the primary school in the village of Muhovac.

The Municipal Conference also adopted the decision on the recall of the delegate in the intermunicipal Conference of the League of Communists, Sefik Fejzulahi, a worker in the municipal court in Bujanovac, who during the process of differentiation was expelled from the League of Communists.

The delegate of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Bujanovac, Riza Sadulahi, worker of the local administration in Bujanovac, was also recalled for the same reason.

During the discussion of the report on the results achieved in the process of ideological and political differentiation in this municipality, in which Serbs and Albanians live together, it was assessed that the political and security situation was not favorable. Twenty-six people from the Bujanovac municipality, mostly students and schoolchildren, took part in the Kosovo demonstrations, while 23 members were expelled from the League of Communists during the process of differentiation.

It was concluded that all organizations and members of the League of Communists must make maximum efforts to achieve the set political aims during the present process of differentiation.

GNJILANE COMMUNISTS DISCUSS 'HOSTILE ACTIVITY'

AU172026 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 81 p 6

[R. Stojiljkovic report]

[Summary] Gnjilane, 12 Jul--At an 8-hour session yesterday, the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Gnjilane discussed the involvement of the 4,500 communists of the commune in overcoming the situation created by hostile activity. In an analysis of the 1-year activity of the organization of the League of Communists, Redzep Hamiti, president of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Gnjilane, assessed this activity as significant, particularly in the economic field, as well as in the struggle to overcome the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

"The broad political activity that has followed the spring events--during which, among other things, 17 members were expelled from the League of Communists, 15 given party punishment, 5 suspended from their jobs, 31 punished for offenses, 28 had their scholarships and loans cancelled, while criminal proceedings began against 3 others--has contributed to an improved political situation. However, the political-security situation, as Hamiti said, continues to be complex, because the enemy has not calmed down and has resorted to disseminating slogans, pamphlets and other things, This enemy activity has been assisted by the silence and passive attitude of some working people and citizens, as well as some cadres who behave in an oppurtunistic manner."

During the discussion, in which 19 members participated, the need was stressed for a specific settling of accounts with the enemy.

"Sinan Hasani, vice president of the SFRY Assembly and member of the LCY Central Committee, also participated in the work of the conference. He said that those who refer to the results achieved thus far and to the arguments that the enemy has been defeated are being deceived.

"The enemy continues to operate. We are now in a situation in which some citizens still have not grasped the counterrevolutionary essence of demonstrations, nor are they embarking in an open struggle. This is a situation which has inconsistencies because we sometimes allow polemics about the hostile activity, Hasani said, stressing the need for more resolute activity of the League of Communists on clarifying the existing state of affairs and on mastering the situation."

In conclusion, Bajram Seljimi was elected new president of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Gnjilane.

DRAGAS COMMUNISTS DISCUSS SECURITY SITUATION

AU191756 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 81 p 6

[F. K. report]

[Text] The session of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Dragas held yesterday was attended by Abedyn Cerovic, executive secretary of the League of Communists of Kosovo, and Aslan Skenderi, member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, who also took part in the proceedings. The session examined the political security situation and the tasks of the League of Communists in the struggle against hostile and counterrevolutionary forces and for stabilizing the situation in the commune.

Cemalj Haljenderi spoke about this and he stressed among other things that hostile elements in this commune had not succeeded in shaking the brotherhood, unity and togetherness of the Albanians, the Muslims and others living on the territory of this commune. The Dragas commune was not spared the activities of the enemies, but thanks to the mobilization of the citizens and working people, all the protagonists of hostile activities were identified in good time. Summary proceedings were instituted against 12 people and sentences were handed down, and 6 members of the League of Communists were expelled from the LCY. Doctor Sulejman Selimi and Imridim Krsnici, workers at the health center, were suspended from work. Ilijaz Behani was dismissed from the office of the secretary of the self-managing interest community for education and training, because he had manipulated pupils and acted outside the LCY platform.

Fabrik Misini was elected new president for 1 year.

SLOVENE, KOSOVO DELEGATIONS VIEW JOINT VENTURES

AU152124 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] Pristina, 8 Jul (TANJUG)--In Priscina today, talks were held between the delegations of the executive councils and economic chambers of Kosovo and Slovenia, led by Riza Sapundzija and Valdo Klemencic, vice presidents of the executive councils. The talks were also attended by Krsta Jovanovic, member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Zika Jovanovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian Economic Chamber.

This meeting of the representatives of the executive councils and economic chambers of Kosovo and Slovenia--it was announced--constituted a continuation of the talks on programs of joint investments by the Kosovo and Slovenian economies for the purpose of realizing the accord on quicker development of the province, which the two delegations started at the beginning of the year. It was noted that during this time a step forward was made in preparing several joint projects, some of which could be realized this year and some in the coming years of the current medium-term period. The realization of joint investment in four programs is underway, and some 15 other projects are being prepared.

In the talks today, possibilities were also examined for joint marketing by associated labor organizations of Slovenia, Serbia and the Province of Kosovo.

CROATIAN COMMISSION EXAMINES PARTY MEMBERSHIP

LD161954 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--The Statutory Commission of the League of Communists of Croatia today examined the work done in the past year as regards the observation and analysis of the application of the statutes of the League of Communists of Croatia. The study of the past period was also a good occasion to point out some negative phenomena in order to reduce them as much as possible in the future work of this organization.

It was noted that the role of this commission in the process of intensification of ideopolitical responsibility was to follow and to struggle for consistent application of the statutes, because the promotion and strengthening of responsibility in the League of Communists was an inseparable part of the struggle of the League of Communists in the elaboration of stances, decisions and conclusions and in their implementation.

The implementation of tasks in the building of socialist self-managing socio-economic relations, determined by the congress documents, the constitution, the law of associated labor and other documents is increasingly becoming the basic criterion for assessing responsibility. The members of the statutory commission noted that in some places responsibility is exclusively linked with attendance meetings, payment of the membership fee, debates on mutual disputes and the like. This is evident in those basic organizations of the League of Communists which have not directed their activity toward the essential questions of their environment.

It was also observed that collective responsibility is invoked for failing to carry out tasks or for poor activity, while the responsibility of a member of the League of Communists who is an inactive delegate is not even considered.

The members of the Statutory Commission consider that there is not enough criticism and self-criticism in the League of Communists. Criticism of leaders is especially avoided and there is reluctance to take them to task even when they are responsible for the violation of self-managing agreements, social agreements, laws and their provisions. On the other hand, workers are very quickly taken to task.

In the past year, the Statutory Commission of the League of Communists of Croatia dealt with over 120 complaints. The decisions on expulsions or last warnings were most frequently contested by the leaders and least by the workers, agricultural workers and technicians. Most of the members who were called to account did not abide by the LCY policy and stances, ignored self-managing rights of the working people and spread untruths and disinformation about other people in order to discredit them politically and morally.

Continuing, the members of the Statutory Commission considered a report on the application of provisions of the statutes of the League of Communists of Croatia concerning the suspension of membership. According to statistical data, 6,149 members have been suspended since the last congress of the communists of this republic. The basic organizations and municipal conferences applied this measure to members who were passive for a lengthy period of time, for not attending meetings, for not paying the membership fee, for failing to implement party tasks and to participate in the political work of their environment, or for not being linked with a basic organization over a lengthy period of time.

The members of the Statutory Commission considers that this is not just a formal or technical way of ending the membership but rather an important organizational and ideo-political question which concerns the building and development of the League of Communists as a whole. It was emphasized that the reasons for inactivity and passive attitude of individual members of the League of Communists must be constantly analyzed.

CORRECTION TO ITEM ON KOSOVO PRESIDENT RESIGNING

The following correction to the item entitled "Dzavid Nimani Resigns as Kosovo President," published in the 20 July Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page I 1 should be made: On page I 1, in the first line of the second paragraph substitute the name "Azem Azemi" for "Azem Vlasi."